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July 14th 1877

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THE
BANISHED COUNT;

OR,

THE LIFE OF NICHOLAS LOUIS ZINZENDORF.

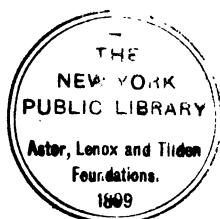
FROM THE FRENCH OF M. FELIX BOVET.

BY

REV. JOHN GILL.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

IN presenting the following narrative to the English public, the translator has made a few omissions from the original work, with the sanction of the author, and has inserted a little additional matter in the Appendix.

17, THE CEDARS ROAD, CLAPHAM COMMON,

June 1865.

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THE BANISHED COUNT.

INTRODUCTION.

ZINZENDORF was a poet, a theologian, a pastor, a missionary, and a statesman. He was a man of high rank, but chose to pass most of his life among the poor and oppressed. His mind was of that ardent and imaginative cast which often gives birth to grand and brilliant schemes, and he possessed the practical wisdom required to work them out. But he concentrated all his energies on a single point. He had but one thought—one desire—and that was to extend the knowledge of the gospel. When but a child he formed the resolution to consecrate himself entirely to Christ.

It was this ever fresh and vigorous purpose that gave unity to his life and character. If, however, any of his various gifts appeared more prominent than the rest, and seemed specially to qualify him for the mission to which God had called him, it was the power of organisation and government—the faculty of knowing men and leading them. There can be no doubt that had he served the powers of this world with the enthusiastic activity that he

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displayed in the cause of his Divine Master, he would have become one of the most eminent statesmen of his day.

Zinzendorf's enemies often compared him to Cromwell ; but if this comparison excites a smile, it shows that his political talents were not denied. It would have been easy to find closer analogies within the domain of ecclesiastical history, as, for instance, in the character and mission of Ignatius Loyola. Zinzendorf's early attachment to traditional associations, his natural ambition, his relish for vast and magnificent projects, his poetic fancy and love of adventure, his mystic soul, and his impassioned heart, all fitted him to be the knight of the Saviour as Ignatius was of the Virgin.

Each of these men founded a powerful society, stretching over the whole earth—an order that exerted a deeper and mightier influence on the Christian world than appeared on the surface ; and they both consolidated this influence by the same means—the education of the young and the establishment of missions.

It was in these two societies that the conquering spirit of Christianity suddenly awoke, and manifested an energy scarcely witnessed since the days of its first diffusion. The order of the Jesuits was no sooner founded than the earliest friends and followers of Loyola were heard preaching on the plains of India, and braving the martyr's death ; and within a few years after the first Moravian settlement rose on the slopes of the Hutberg, a band of missionaries left their quiet mountain homes in this lovely region to carry the message of mercy to the negro slaves of the burning west.

But if there were so many features of resemblance between these two great men and their respective societies, where, it may be asked, shall we look for the cause of those equally striking points of difference which are to be observed in the subsequent development of the "Order of Jesus" and the "United Brethren?"

Why, for example, did the disciples of Zinzendorf continue in their humble sphere, taking little or no part in the affairs of the world, and indifferent to the attractions of earthly grandeur, while those of Ignatius had a hand in all the intrigues of courts and cabinets, and not only employed the most subtle diplomacy, but, to gain their end, resorted to the most questionable expedients of human policy?

The essential cause of this divergence may be traced to the different points from which the founders of the two organisations started, and the different colours they displayed. Ignatius pledged his life to the Virgin Mary. Zinzendorf gave himself to Christ. Mary is the patroness of Rome. Christ is the Head of the Church universal, and the Saviour of the world. Hence, in labouring for the honour of Mary, Ignatius could only extend the Romish hierarchy, and seek to uproot what was regarded as heresy. Zinzendorf, on the other hand, in serving Christ, was not advancing the interests of any particular church as opposed to others, or seeking to bring men within the bounds of any external institution, however vast and imposing, but rather aiming to unite them, under all their varieties of worship and of creed, in the bond of a common love and gratitude to Him who is "the propitiation not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world."

Hence, while the name of Jesuit is associated with the horrors of the inquisition, and with deeds of intolerance and despotism, Zinzendorf stood forth as the fearless advocate of Christian toleration; and he was probably the first man who clearly saw the real unity of the Church of Christ beneath the denominational differences of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Reform, to which the men of his day attached such vital importance. Loyola represented the principles of ecclesiastical authority, and belonged to the Church of the past, whose crumbling walls his successors are striving to uphold. Zinzendorf belonged to the age of freedom, and to the Church of the future.

Nor must it be forgotten that Zinzendorf did not originate an order, but a real society, which neither sacrifices the family relationship nor restrains its members from acting on their own account and acquiring property. In this respect, therefore, he cannot be classed with the founders of monastic brotherhoods.

The biography of Zinzendorf might be written from several different points of view. Spangenberg, who was driven from his professorial chair at Halle by the Pietists, and became Zinzendorf's coadjutor and successor, wrote it with a twofold object—to defend him from the charges of his opponents, and as a memorial of the benefits that accrued through his instrumentality to the community he founded. Reichel, Duvernoy, and Verbeek, the last of whom prepared a popular edition of Spangenberg's work, viewed the life of Zinzendorf chiefly in its relation to the Moravian Church. There is also a memoir of the *Church of the Brethren*, and one of Zinzendorf, by Baron Schrautenbach,

both of which are peculiarly valuable for their graphic portraits of his leading contemporaries. J. G. Müller, the brother of the celebrated Swiss historian, has also written a spirited sketch of Zinzendorf, intended for the use of Christians generally. Varnhagen von Ense of Berlin has devoted a volume of his *Biographical Monuments* to the same subject; but he writes from a psychological standpoint rather than as a contributor to ecclesiastical history. His appreciation of Zinzendorf is just on the whole, and in his digest of facts he closely follows Spangenberg.

Among the principal sources of the biography of Zinzendorf we may further mention the *History of the Church of the Brethren* by Cranz, and that by Croeger, (the latter work having appeared between 1852 and 1854,) the life by Brauns, (1850,) and those of Schroeder and Pilgram, published in 1857, the latter being a Catholic writer.

All these works are in the German language, so that in England, as in France, scarcely anything is known of the distinguished man who renovated the Moravian Church.*

Our desire, in this narrative, is to hold up to view the mighty power of the Spirit of God; and, in describing Zinzendorf's course of action among his contemporaries, to point out his special position in the ecclesiastical history of his age.

Zinzendorf wrote much; but extensive quotation would be requisite to give anything like a fair representation of his literary remains, and his style presents peculiar difficul-

* M. Bost, in his *Histoire de l'Église des Frères*, does not make the life of Zinzendorf an essential object; and moreover his narrative is only brought down to 1741, nineteen years before Zinzendorf's death.

ties to the translator. He carried to excess that mixture of tongues which prevailed in the German language during the seventeenth century, and which the critics of his day condemned. According to his own statement, he not only made free use of the Latin, Greek, and French phrases which were then in vogue among his countrymen, but he summoned the English and the Dutch tongues to his aid, in order to express his ideas the more fully and completely. Hence he forswore all pretension to literary elegance or purity; and it is superfluous to say that any attempt at an exact rendering of his compositions could only result in a caricature. All the translator can do is to convey their spirit and meaning without regard to literal accuracy.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS.

NICHOLAS LOUIS, Count of Zinzendorf and Pottendorf, Lord of Freydeck, Schoeneck, Thörnstein, and other places, was born in Dresden on the 26th of May 1700. His ancestors, who were raised to the rank of counts of the empire in 1662, originally came from Austria, and are known in history as far back as the eleventh century. One of them, Henry Zinzendorf, was intrusted with the government of the states belonging to Leopold, Margrave of Austria, during the absence of the latter in Palestine. Another took part in the third crusade, and fought under the walls of Ptolemais. John IV., the young lord of Zinzendorf, was among the earliest converts to Lutheranism; and his grandson, Maximilian Erasmus, in 1633, under the Emperor Ferdinand II., became a voluntary exile rather than renounce his faith. He gave up all his possessions in Austria, and retired to his castle at Oberbirg, near Nuremberg. His two sons entered the service of the Elector of Saxony. The eldest became a general. The other, George Louis, was made a privy-councillor, and was universally esteemed for his good sense and high integrity. He married twice, and his second wife was the mother of Nicholas Louis Zinzendorf.

The memory of his ancestors made a powerful impression on the mind of the young count. He had been taught from his childhood the incalculable value of the faith for which they suffered, and hence we can easily understand the peculiar sympathy he manifested in after years towards the Moravian emigrants. He felt himself specially called to be the protector of those who, like his forefathers, had forsaken all for Christ. There are also traces in his writings of another kind of feeling with regard to his ancestry. Though in after days he renounced his titles, to prevent himself from being trammelled in the work he had undertaken, he seems in the early part of his life to have thought much of his noble birth; and he regarded the name he had inherited as a badge that pledged him to spend his powers in a good cause, while he said that to bear the name of Christian involved a double obligation. "From the time of Count Albert," he remarks, "our family motto has been, *No yielding either to one or to all.* This is our nature. It is hard to yield. But there is One before whom my courage fails, and this is Jesus, who hung on the tree—Jesus who was scorned, and smitten, and railed upon, but who soon afterwards vanquished the world."

While there can be no doubt that the social position of Zinzendorf's family had a certain amount of influence on the formation of his character, the religious and moral atmosphere in which he was placed must also be taken into account.

The Reformation, which had resulted partly from the revival of letters and partly from a spiritual awakening, had been characterised from the commencement by a

decided predilection for dogmatic theology, the cause of which is easily to be traced. The Holy Scriptures, long sealed with seven seals, had just unfolded their wondrous contents to the eyes of the Church. The Spirit of God had breathed on the heart of man. A glorious day had beamed forth, and a desire was at once evinced to take advantage of the new and precious light to put every truth of Christianity in its right place, and, like Adam in Eden, to give everything a name. It was thought that the whole range of theology might be systematised, and every doctrine clearly defined. Protestantism, unconscious of its true greatness, could not accept the reproach cast upon it by the Papists, that it leaves the explanation of the Bible, and consequently the settling of doctrinal forms, to individual judgment. The Reformed Churches, therefore, made it a primary object to construct a Biblical orthodoxy, which should supersede that established by the Catholic fathers. Hence the tendency, from the time of Luther and Zwingli, towards the absolute in the sphere of religious belief, and hence the divisions between the *Lutherans* and the *Reformed*, both of which parties took an important position in Germany, and threatened to stifle the Reformation in its cradle. The dispute between these rival camps soon grew into a war as fierce as civil wars always are, and the great German divine, Melancthon, whose days were cut short by sorrow, died thanking God for delivering him "from the fury of the theologians." After he was gone the strife waxed worse.

While the heroes of the sixteenth century remained on the scene, the first inspiration which gave birth to the

reform, though impaired, was not quite lost, nor was the heavenly origin of the movement altogether forgotten. But no sooner were these mighty spirits removed than darkness returned, theology displaced religion, and orthodoxy was substituted for faith.

The history of the churches in Germany is nothing but a record of the painful process that produced the Lutheran and the Reformed creeds, and it conducts us through an interminable series of struggles between the advocates of different theological opinions—struggles which were sometimes embittered by the interference of princes, and followed by cruel persecutions and subtle formularies, reminding us of the ecclesiastical feuds that shook the court of Constantinople.

The reign of orthodoxy, inaugurated in the Lutheran Church by the "Formula of Concord," (1577,) and in the Reformed Church by the Synod of Dordrecht, (1629,) counted amongst its victims Kepler and Grotius, and continued through the whole of the seventeenth century. This may be regarded as the mediæval age of the evangelical churches in Germany; it was the period of Protestant scholasticism, and the fruits soon appeared. Christian life was all but extinct; the Church was on the point of death, wrapped in an evangelical confession and a faultless doctrinal creed. It was not a reformation that it wanted, but an awakening from its slumber. And the awakening came to pass in the province of Saxony, which had been the cradle of the German Reformation.

The instrument in this case was Spener. Spener's work was essentially practical; it was the work of a pastor rather

than that of a theologian. It is true, he endeavoured to exalt the study of the Scriptures above that of all other standards, and to counterbalance the despotic authority of princes and prelates by creating in the Church a kind of third estate. But he did not dispute the principles contained in the Augsburg confession, the doctrinal basis of the Church to which he belonged. What he laboured for was, to impress those around him with the conviction, that the true sphere of Christianity is not the intellect but the conscience; and that faith does not consist in a mental adherence to a certain number of revealed truths, but that it is a mighty power, a force from God that regenerates the soul. Hence conversion was the centre of his teaching, and the touchstone of Christianity. He did not divide men, as the other theologians of his time did, into *orthodox* and *heretic*, but into *converted* and *unconverted*.

Spener allowed the doctrine of justification by faith to hold the throne on which Luther had placed it; but he attached greater importance to Christian asceticism than the Reformer did. The result was a certain moroseness and severity of tone, both in himself and in his followers, that recalled the Jansenism of Port Royal and the Calvinism of Geneva.

The designation given to Spener's teaching was *Pietism*; and the term was not inapt, because the essential point in his system was the exclusive importance of piety, or practical and personal religion, as distinguished from mere orthodoxy. This name was first adopted in the little "meetings of piety" which Spener recommended.

Weary as the people were of idle theological disputes,

the pungent appeals of Spener, carried home by the Spirit of God, soon found an echo in the hearts and consciences of multitudes both in Saxony and in Germany. But although the quickening influence was felt among the laity of all classes, the clergy for the most part kept aloof from the movement; and those of them who favoured it were excluded alike from the pulpits and from the chairs of learning.

Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburg, subsequently king of Prussia, under the name of Frederick I., became the protector of Pietism. He called Spener, who had incurred the displeasure of the Elector of Saxony, to Berlin; and founded a university in Halle, in 1694, which rivalled that of Wittemberg, and was destined to be the representative of the new tendency. From that time Halle became to Spener and his work what Wittemberg had been to Luther; and it was in the former of these two famous cities that the revival to which we refer bore its best fruits.

But the mind of man, suddenly brought under the power of divine truth, is often like a child with a watch, or a savage having a compass put into his hands, who is so overjoyed at his new possession that he cannot let it rest till he has spoiled it. Thus churches and schools often become a mere burlesque on what they once were.

The asceticism of Spener soon became, with most of his disciples, a spirit of punctilious and pharisaic legality. Starting from the true principle that every human work has its moral character and result, they magnified the importance of the smallest actions to such a degree as to make

the Christian life consist of nothing but a round of prescribed religious performances, and the avoidance of certain pleasures which they called worldly. The little gatherings which Spener instituted came to be considered as forming the only church, out of which there was no salvation. Hence grew up a spiritual pride, which, while it served the poor of the sect instead of worldly distinction, supplied new food to the exclusive and aristocratic spirits of the wealthier members.

We shall see how these aberrations of Pietism manifested themselves in the opposition made to Zinzendorf and his work, and how the followers of Zinzendorf also degenerated from their first faith. But at the time of his birth the movement was in its primitive purity, and had exerted its influence on the Gersdorf family, to which his mother belonged. His father, who maintained a close friendship with Spener during the residence of the latter in Dresden, continued faithful to him in the time of his troubles, and Spener came from Berlin to act as godfather at the baptism of the young count. The Electress of Saxony and the Electress Palatinate also stood as sponsors.

Zinzendorf was not six weeks old when his father died. His mother was a woman of singular worth. She was not only remarkable for her seriousness of character and her devout spirit, but she possessed brilliant talents; and she excelled most of the women of her day in the depth and variety of her knowledge, although at that period, as a rule, women were better educated than they are now. She knew Greek and Latin, and most of the living languages; she was no stranger to theological science, and she

had a considerable amount of poetic genius. But with all these qualifications she exercised but little influence on the early years of her son. She soon married again, and removed to Berlin with her second husband, General Natzmer, who afterwards became field-marshal. Zinzendorf, however, always cherished a profound respect and affection for her, as his own words indicate:—"In all matters," he says, "that depended on me, my first thought always was—What will best please my mother?" And he assures us that he looked up to her more with the feelings of a subject than a son.

General Zinzendorf, the uncle and tutor of the young count, having ceased to take any active part in his education, he was left to the guidance of his grandmother on the mother's side, the Baroness Gersdorf. Like her daughter, the baroness was a woman of eminent piety and of good intellectual powers. A volume of her devotional poetry was published at Halle in 1729, after her death. She was intimate with the leading spirits of the pietist party, and with several of them she kept up a regular correspondence. Spener, Franke, Autou, and Canstein were frequent guests at her castle at Gross-Hennersdorf in Upper Lusatia. The visits of these servants of God soon became a blessing to the young count, and one day Spener, prompted by a kind of prophetic inspiration, placed his hands upon him, and consecrated him to the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

Young Zinzendorf was of a delicate constitution, and until he was twenty years of age manifested very little physical strength; but he had a powerful will and an

ardent disposition, only kept in check by his precocious thoughtfulness. His progress in study was slow ; his lively imagination often proving a hindrance to his memory ; but the sense of religion was developed at a very early period. His grandmother and his aunt Gersdorf, as well as his tutor, Edeling, taught him to pray, and gave him such careful religious instruction, that by the time he was four years old he knew the principal doctrines of Christianity.

The thought that Jesus is our brother, and that He died for us, filled his heart with unutterable gratitude, and drew out all his affections towards the Saviour. His childlike simplicity prepared his mind to receive the truth that, since Christ is our brother, we may live with Him in that relationship, and open to Him all our thoughts and feelings, whatever they may be ; and he maintained the habit of constant and familiar intercourse with Christ to the end of his life.

He looked forward to the festivities of Christmas and Easter with intense interest, and long before the months came round, used to look out the hymns designed for those seasons, in anticipation of the pleasure he would feel in hearing them sung ; and the thought that what Christ had done and suffered for sinners would be the theme of so many special discourses, made his heart beat with irrepressible emotion.

One evening he had fallen asleep while the family were at worship, and on waking he wept bitterly because he had lost the privilege of hearing them sing one of his favourite hymns.

"I have had the happiness," he says, in one of his *Discourses to Children*, "of knowing the Saviour by experience from my youngest years. It was at Hennersdorf, when I was a child, that I learnt to love Him. I heard Him incessantly speaking to my heart, and I saw Him with the eyes of faith. I was told that my Creator had become man, and this deeply impressed me. I said to myself, that if no one else in the world cared for Him, I would love Him. I wished to live and to die with Him. In this way I have known the Saviour for many years; and I have carried on a friendship with Him, quite in a childish way, sometimes talking with Him for whole hours, as we talk with a friend, going in and out of the room quite lost in my meditations. In my conversations with the Saviour, I felt happy and grateful for the goodness He had shown to me in becoming man. But I did not yet understand the sufficiency of His sufferings and death. The wretchedness and weakness of my nature were not fully revealed to me; I wanted to do something myself towards my salvation. But at length one day I was so deeply affected at all that my Creator had suffered for me that I shed floods of tears, and I felt myself drawn more closely and tenderly than ever. I spoke to Him when I was alone, and I firmly believed that He was near me, and used to say: *He is God, and will perfectly understand me even when I cannot explain myself. He knows what I want to tell Him.* I have enjoyed this close personal intercourse with Jesus for fifty years, and I feel the happiness of it more and more every day I live."

This living faith yielded its fruits; and the child sought

to bear testimony to it by the whole of his conduct. He readily confessed his faults, and made efforts to correct them ; he tried to make himself useful to those about him, and was always thankful for any attention shown him, while his heart and his hands were open to every one. The first time a little money was given him for his own trifling indulgences, he gave the whole of it away to the first person he met.

This early spiritual development did not exclude the playfulness natural to his age, but the love that filled his heart manifested itself even in his childish games. When he happened to get hold of some paper and a pen and ink, he wrote letters to his invisible Friend, and used to open the window and throw them to the winds, without a doubt that they would reach their destination. At another time he would assemble the inmates of the house to speak to them about the Saviour ; or, if he could not get a congregation together, he arranged the chairs in front of him, and preached to them. His feelings were such that it seemed as if he must communicate them to some one.

Young as he was, he had to fight many a battle with doubt ; but he came off a conqueror. " I was in my eighth year," he says, " when one evening a hymn that my grandmother had sung before she retired to rest threw me into such a train of thought, and then into such deep speculations, that I could not sleep all night. The most refined subtleties of atheism unfolded themselves in my soul, and they so completely mastered me for the time, that all the sceptical arguments I have met with since then seem powerless in comparison, and fail to make any impression upon

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me. But my heart clung to Jesus, and I often thought that, even if it were possible that there should be another God besides my Saviour, I would rather go to perdition with Jesus than be in heaven with any one else. The infidel objections that I have encountered in later years have done me no harm beyond annoying me and keeping me awake; they have never touched my heart. The Son of God is my Saviour. *I am as sure of this as I am of my five fingers.* I had loved Him for so many years, I had so often called on His name, I had had so many experiences—sometimes sweet and sometimes bitter,—so many mercies, so many chastisements, and so many answers to prayer, that I could not forsake Him now. What I *believed* was dear to me, though what I *thought* was hateful; and I firmly resolved to use my reason in human things, and to cultivate it as much as possible, but in spiritual things to hold simply to the truth that my heart had seized, making all other truths rest upon it, and at once rejecting whatever I could not deduce from it. It was thus that God was pleased to create within me the determination not to waste my life on vain and empty speculations, but to concern myself with things that edify, and to seek such close communion with Him as would make all my thoughts of Him sweet and happy, leaving the deeper knowledge of these mysteries to the time when I should be riper for it."

Before he was ten years old he formed the purpose of studying theology, and fixed his mind on becoming a preacher of the gospel. "But," he observes, "the Lord appointed quite a different career for me, till I was in my thirty-fourth year. Why, He knows."

In accordance with the plans of his mother, his grandmother, and his aunt, Zinzendorf was destined to hold high office in the state, as his father and grandfather had done before him. With a view to give him an education befitting his rank, and at the same time to place him under Christian influence, the college at Halle, called the Pædagogium, was chosen as the scene of his early studies, and thither he was conducted by his grandmother in 1710.

CHAPTER II.

HALLE AND WITTEMBERG.

AMONG the most remarkable practical results of Spener's teaching was the Orphan House, founded at Halle by the pious Professor Franke. The history of the foundation of this establishment is a marvellous page in the annals of the faith. Franke got a few poor cast-off children round him to teach them, and gave them such aid as his scanty resources permitted. One day a benevolent person made him a present of seven florins for his little pensioners, and he was so encouraged by this that he determined to extend his efforts. He started an institution for orphans, and it soon grew to such proportions as surpassed all other establishments of a similar kind. To the house for orphans other schools were gradually added, and at length a college sprang up, under the name of the *Pædagogium*, into which Zinzendorf was now received.*

The pedagogues of those days were strangers to the indulgent notions of modern times. The rough discipline of

* Baron Canstein, another disciple of Spener's, subsequently joined in this work, devoted his fortune to it, and added to Franke's establishments a *Biblical Institute*, designed to promote the circulation of the Scriptures, by publishing them at a price that rendered them accessible to all classes. This establishment and those of Franke still exist.

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries still prevailed, and perhaps it was more severely carried out in the Pædagogium than anywhere else; for the entire corruption of human nature being the fundamental doctrine of Pietism, education in Halle was nothing but a constant warfare with nature, in order to humble and subdue it.

Zinzendorf came in for a full share of this pitiless treatment.

When he arrived in Halle, he was introduced to Professor Franke as "a very sharp and intelligent youth who must be held with a tight rein, for fear of his becoming proud, and presuming too much upon his abilities." And his masters did not fail to take the hint. They affected a preference for others much less advanced than himself; they punished him most severely for the slightest fault; they charged him with motives that were utterly foreign to his character; and they even took every means to make him appear ridiculous in the eyes of his companions.

With all their severity, however, the professors were actuated by a sincere love for those on whom they practised it; and this may have rendered it the less difficult to bear.

But the greatest torture that Zinzendorf had to endure arose from the governors appointed by his relatives. He himself describes Hofmann and Crisenius, who successively filled this office, as hypocrites, who treated him in the most absurd and barbarous manner. But he was not to be daunted by these sufferings. "They will not crush me," he exclaimed, "but raise me up!" *Hæ contumeliæ me non frangent, sed erigent.*

Indeed his heart was so completely under the sway of one passion, that he cared little for outward things. The cause of Christ was all in all to him, and he was strengthened in his devotion to it by an alliance which he formed with some young men who entertained the same feelings. They were accustomed to meet frequently for mutual edification, when they submitted their conduct to the test of the Scriptures, encouraged each other to persevere in the path of life, and united in fervent pleadings with "the invisible Majesty," to use Zinzendorf's own words, "whom we sometimes called our Love, sometimes our Brother, and our Husband, for we knew that all these names belonged to Him." "We asked Him," he continues, "for all that we wanted; and above all we entreated Him to make us what He would have us to be."

Seven associations of this kind were successively formed in Halle during Zinzendorf's stay in that city, and in every one of them he was the most assiduous of all the members, and the last that remained. But he did not stop there. The romantic tendency of his imagination, which manifested itself in his religious history, inspired him with the idea of founding a sort of spiritual knighthood. The members of this order at first took the title of *Slaves of Virtue*, then they styled themselves *Confessors of Christ*, and at length they became known as the *Order of the Grain of Mustard Seed*. Their *statutes*, which are still preserved, bound them to confess the doctrine of Jesus faithfully in their words and their conduct, to exercise love towards their neighbours, and to seek the conversion of others, including both the Jews and the heathen. The

insignia of the order consisted of a medal engraved with an *Ecce Homo*, and the words *Nostra medela*, (in allusion to Isaiah li,) as well as a ring, on which the passage, (Rom. xiv. 7,) "None of us liveth to himself," was inscribed. In the centre of the cross* worn by the chief of the order, a mustard-plant grown into a large tree was painted, with the motto, *Quod fuit ante nihil*, (which before was nothing.)

At a subsequent period, when the members were dispersed in France, Switzerland, Holland, and Hungary, the Count endeavoured for a long time to keep up the bond of union by mutual correspondence.

Among the special friends of Zinzendorf was a young Swiss baron, Frederick Watteville, of Berne. Speaking of this youth and himself, he says:—

"In 1715, two young students united in a pledge to labour for the conversion of the heathen, and especially for those whom nobody else cared for. Their idea was not to accomplish this by their own personal efforts, for both of them were intended by their parents for high stations in the world, and had no choice but to obey. But they hoped that, as God had raised up Franke to assist Baron Canstein, so He would provide the men to carry out this undertaking."

"All these associations," he observes further on, "were regarded by some persons as childish fancies, and by others as the offspring of pride. But God knows that I never

* We have seen this cross and several rings at Herrnhut, in the archives of the United Brethren. The statutes of the order are to be found in the second volume of the *Büdingische Sammlung*. The first article reads thus: "The members of our society will love the whole human family."

sought any glory; on the contrary, I well knew that I should only be ridiculed."

Although the thorough individuality of Zinzendorf's character strongly marked all his doings at this period, we must not overlook the influence of the atmosphere in which he lived. The little associations that we have described were only an imitation of Spener's *collegia pietatis*, (unions of piety.) The Pietists had done much to rouse the zeal of the Church for the conversion of the heathen, and Zinzendorf himself ascribed some of his own deepest impressions, as to the importance of this great cause, to the meetings he attended in Halle. There he not only witnessed the holy activity of Franke, but he met with missionaries from all parts of the world, and listened to details concerning the progress of Christ's kingdom, and the heroic sufferings of persecuted converts, that thrilled his whole soul, and stirred it into a flame of sacred enthusiasm. Among the early characteristics of Zinzendorf's mind was his talent for poetry. Poetical composition was his favourite recreation, or rather, it was his most natural mode of expressing his thoughts. He had an easy flow of language, and wrote with great spirit, and surprising rapidity. This remarkable gift was a valuable auxiliary in his labours. Every feast of the Church of the Brethren, every anniversary, and every occurrence that he wished specially to mark, was commemorated by a hymn composed for the occasion; and the feelings of his own soul, to which he thus gave utterance, as they passed from lip to lip on the wings of poetry and song, soon became the common sentiments of all the members of the Church.

Although the narrow spirit of some of the Pietists in Halle led them to conceive a prejudice against the young Count, Franke was not the man to cherish an antipathy of this kind. The noble and upright character of Zinzendorf, and his sincere and earnest piety, eventually dissipated Franke's suspicions, and led him openly to predict that this youth would be a great light in the Church. But although many of the professors formed intimate friendships with him, unfortunately the dislike entertained by others grew into actual hatred ; and this was the germ of the hostility afterwards displayed by the Pietists towards the Moravian Brethren.

What had been said to Franke about young Zinzendorf's pride and presumption was not altogether without foundation. He was proud of his rank and his talents ; and the systematic severity to which he had been subjected had tended to foster this feeling. " I could hardly help," he says, " thinking myself of extraordinary importance when I saw what special measures were deemed necessary to reduce me. It was in the year 1715 that God struck the first blow at my natural pride. A large public assembly was about to be held at the Pædagogium, at which the margraves of Bayreuth, the university of Halle, and many distinguished personages, were to be present ; and the students had to deliver speeches in Latin, German, French, and Greek. I presumed too much on my own powers to take the trouble to commit mine to memory, flattering myself that, as I had composed it, I could recollect it whenever I wanted it. But, as it was, my memory failed me, and I all but broke down. The audience did no

perceive it, though I was very much confused ; but I recognised in this incident a Divine dispensation. From that time I relinquished my anxiety to excel, and contented myself with simply doing my duty."

By the time he was sixteen, Zinzendorf had made rapid progress in his studies ; and being considered sufficiently advanced to enter the university, at the beginning of the month of April 1716, he delivered a beautiful farewell Latin oration, and took his departure from the college, to spend some weeks with his grandmother at Gross-Hennersdorf, where he passed most of his time in the castle library, reading the writings of Luther, and other theological works, and composing German and Latin verses. Crisenius, who still accompanied him as his governor, also gave him some instruction, and he received not a few wise counsels from his grandmother in the prospect of his residence at the university.

His next visit was to his uncle, the General, at Gavernitz, who, as his guardian, now claimed the entire control of his education. In spite of Zinzendorf's ardent desire to devote himself to theological pursuits, his uncle wished him to enter upon the study of law, with a view to fit himself for public business, and he also wished to choose the university to which he was to repair.

The universities of Halle and Wittemberg, which now constitute one foundation, then represented two rival schools. While Halle was the centre of Pietism, Wittemberg, considering itself the rightful guardian of the traditions of the Reformers, maintained Lutheran orthodoxy in its purity. Just at that moment, too, Lutheranism had

been somewhat revived by the preparations for the jubilee of the Reformation that was to take place in the following year (1717.)

Zinzendorf, having been trained up from his infancy in the doctrines of Spener, all his sympathies drew him towards Halle. But the General preferred sending him to Wittemberg, and, hard as this decision might appear to the young student, he submitted without any resistance; and we believe he was rewarded, for his stay at this university certainly had the most beneficial influence on his after life. The comparison that he was enabled to make between two different systems enlarged his own ideas, and raised him to a higher point of view than his teachers had reached. Had he remained at Halle, it is not likely that he would have become anything more than a successor of Spener. But, as it was, he rose above both Pietism and Lutheranism, and attained a more extensive, deeper, and more spiritual knowledge of the gospel than almost any other Christian of his time.

“My uncle,” says Zinzendorf, “undertook the task of changing my nature, or at least he endeavoured to put my head on in a new fashion.” And in fact, the old General, not content with making him addict himself to studies opposed to his tastes, thought he ought to put every part of his nephew’s conduct under minute regulation, and sent him written rules to which he was to conform with military precision. His governor was invested with full powers to see these instructions carried out.

On the 25th of August 1716, Zinzendorf arrived at Wittemberg with his governor, a lodging having been pre-

pared for him at the burgomaster's, in accordance with his rank. On the 7th of September, he went before the proctor to matriculate, and a little circumstance, on this occasion, showed his independence of mind, and his scrupulous fidelity to the precepts of the gospel, as he understood them. When the academical oath was administered to him, he said, "*I do not swear, but I promise,*" and he finished in a clear and forcible tone with the words—" *Me Deus adjuvet.*" God help me!

When it was known at Halle that Zinzendorf was studying at Wittemberg, everybody was greatly scandalised. Nobody for a moment thought of his being irresponsible for the arrangement, and he was universally condemned for his ingratitude both to Spener and to Franke.

But Zinzendorf continued as much attached as ever to his former instructors. He felt himself a stranger at Wittemberg, and he himself says he was always a strict Pietist. Whenever the theologians of Halle were attacked, he took their part, warmly defending their principles and their motives, and submitting to a good deal of reproach for their sake. He not only read Franke's works, but disseminated them, and one of them on *Prayer* he translated; besides which, he wrote several religious tracts, and among others one *Against the doctrine of indifferent works*. He even delivered a public eulogium on Spener.

This was not enough to satisfy the prevailing feeling at Wittemberg, and efforts were made to persuade him out of what was called his excessive piety. But opposing elements only served to make him a still more thorough Pietist. He felt that his faith was threatened, and that, in

spite of himself and every one else, he must be always on the watch lest he should lose the treasure that had been, up to that moment, his happiness and his life. Thus he lost his childlike confidence and simplicity, and as Spangenberg tells us, he became more legal than evangelical. He gave himself to ascetic exercises, spent whole nights in prayer and meditation, and set apart one day every week for fasting, and solitary study of the Word of God. According to his own statement, he even took pains to load his poetical compositions (which were printed according to the practice of the universities at that time) with phrases that would be likely to offend, so as to set people against him, and to shut out all possibility of making his way in the world. Thus he thought he would have so much less temptation to fight against.

His first year at the university must have been, as he describes it, one of the saddest of his life. Compelled to occupy himself in the study of subjects which had no attraction for him,—placed under the authority of a governor “whose treatment would have driven him to despair or turned him mad, if the hand of God had not sustained him,”—always on the watch against himself, against the world, and against the theology of Wittemberg,—he found himself completely isolated, and debarred from all communion of thought or feeling with those around him. Nothing could be more contrary to his loving nature and his need of sympathy, and it was impossible that this state of things should last long. In proportion as he came to know the Wittemberg divines, against whom he had been so strictly cautioned, his prejudices gave way, and he found

that many of them, notwithstanding the difference of creeds, possessed the same living faith that animated the professors at Halle; and he began to ask himself whether it might not be possible to bring about a reconciliation between the two contending parties. The desire to see the children of God, who were scattered abroad in the world, or separated by mutual prejudices, united in one fold, was always uppermost in the heart of Zinzendorf; and we shall soon see him, in spite of the formalism of his age, holding out the hand of friendship to his brethren of the Roman Catholic Church. We can easily imagine, therefore, what he must have suffered to see Christians in Halle and Wittemberg, belonging to the same communion, wasting their talents, their zeal, and their strength, in persecuting one another, and neutralising each other's influence.

It was a fine example of the holy courage that true faith inspires, when this young student, but seventeen years of age, set to work, single-handed, to remove these inveterate antipathies, and to put an end to a religious war which had been embittered by thirty years of theological controversy. Zinzendorf was not blind to the difficulty of this undertaking, or to his own weakness in relation to so great a work. But he was sustained and encouraged by the words, "Blessed are the peacemakers;" and his first attempts succeeded beyond all expectation. His appeals were well received both in Halle and in Wittemberg, and he drew up a basis of agreement which he thought might meet both sides of the case. Wernsdorf, one of the leading professors at Wittemberg, expressed a desire for a personal conference with Franke on the subject, and

said that if Franke objected to come to Wittemberg, he would go to Halle. Zinzendorf offered in that case to accompany Wernsdorf, and to do his utmost to bring the matter to a happy conclusion. "My colleagues, as well as myself," wrote Franke, "will be most glad to see the Count at Halle, with Dr Wernsdorf, and I believe this will be far better than a long correspondence. I prefer, therefore, to await their arrival here, rather than continue negotiations in reference to the proposed union by letter."

Such was the state of affairs, and every preparation had been made for the meeting, when Zinzendorf received a letter from his mother expressly forbidding his going to Halle. This was a base trick of Crisenius. He had written to Madame Natzmer informing her of her son's plans, and had represented them in the most unfavourable colours. Her anxious and timid disposition was thus wrought upon, and she was alarmed to think of her son taking upon him the responsibility of such a project. Nothing could induce her to give way. It was in vain that Zinzendorf entreated her to grant him permission to go to Halle, and although Franke himself wrote to her to intercede for his young friend, she was inflexible. Zinzendorf submitted, and the scheme for which he had so earnestly laboured was abandoned.

In the midst of these theological and ecclesiastical occupations, he kept closely to the course of legal studies and the rules of life laid down by his tutor; besides which he worked at philosophy, natural science, and Hebrew. Greek was tolerably familiar to him, and he spoke Latin with remarkable facility, but French was his favourite. It was

in this language that he wrote his diary, and most of his letters. The theses that he had to produce were generally upon some department of moral science. On one occasion he took as his subject the celebrated proposition of La Rochefoucauld's, "*Self-love is the source of all our passions.*"

His friends were anxious that he should perfect himself, while at the university, in the use of arms, riding, and dancing. And though these arts were devoid of interest to him, he complied in the spirit of obedience, and applied himself to them with all his might, thinking that the more progress he made the sooner he would be free to employ his time in a more useful way. He seems to have felt, however, that these exercises did not suit him, and that they involved certain temptations. "I recollect," he says, "that one day in the fencing-room some one presented a sword at me with a kind of air that greatly irritated me, and the feeling lasted the whole time I was playing. I was sorry for it afterwards. I begged the Saviour to forgive me, and I resolved that, by the grace of God, I would watch against this in future." He liked only such games as tended to develop the intellectual powers, such as chess, or others that afforded good bodily exercise. He objected to play for money, unless it was previously agreed that the gains should be given to the poor, or spent in supplying them with Bibles from Halle.

Zinzendorf had not given up the idea of the ecclesiastical life, and when he disclosed his wish to Wernsdorf and Franke, they encouraged it. What he desired above all things was to pursue the course that would most promote the salvation of his soul; and he thought, from all he had

seen, that there were less dangers in the ministry than in any other calling. Besides which, he was sincerely anxious to do something for the glory of God and the good of his neighbour, and he felt strongly persuaded that no other condition admitted of such effective labour to this end. He had no worldly ambition, and only aspired to be a simple catechist or a village pastor.

But his family having, as we have seen, other plans in view, would not hear of his purpose ; and Zinzendorf waited patiently, saying that if it was God's will to employ him for anything in His kingdom, he defied the whole world to prevent it. " But," he added, " if God does not permit this, still I know that He does not forget me ; perhaps He sees that it is as much as I can do to watch over myself, and to labour for my own salvation."

Zinzendorf remained at the university for two years and a half, and quitted it in the spring of 1719. It was thought desirable that he should travel, with a view to complete his legal studies in the most celebrated foreign schools, and especially to see the world, and to acquire the manners of a courtier in Paris.

CHAPTER III.

RESIDENCE IN PARIS.

It was not without some distrust, says Spangenberg, that Zinzendorf entered upon this part of his experience. The little he had seen of the world during his stay in Wittemberg had afforded him no satisfaction, and had only served to awaken his fears. He dreaded the temptations that lay before him ; and, if he had been left to his own choice, he would far rather have avoided the risk. " I wish to die to the world," he said ; " and why should I take so much pains to learn the art of living in it ? " But he yielded as usual to the wishes of his parents, though he firmly resolved to *hold fast that which he had received*. " If the object of my being sent to France is to make me a man of the world," he wrote, " I declare that this is money thrown away ; for God will, in His goodness, preserve in me the desire to live only for Jesus Christ."

It was arranged that he should first visit Holland ; and his half-brother having proposed to accompany him, his parents very gladly accepted this offer. He tells us, in his diary at this period, that his soul was raised above earthly things ; and that all the desires of his heart were fixed on the Saviour. "*Eternity alone*," he says, "*filled all my thoughts*."

Passing through Frankfort-on-the-Maine, which was endeared to him by its association with Spener, who laboured there previously to his appointment in Dresden, Zinzendorf arrived at Dusseldorf, and visited its famous gallery of paintings. Among all the works of the great masters, there was only one that drew his attention. "It was a wonderfully expressive *Ecce Homo*," he says, "and over it the words, *Hoc feci pro te; quid facis pro me?*"

"I did all this for thee;
What dost thou for me?"

"I felt," he adds, "that I had but little to say in answer to this question, and I begged my Saviour to force me to suffer with Him, if I did not willingly consent to it."

On the 26th of May 1719, his nineteenth birthday, Zinzendorf reached Utrecht; and after a peep at the principal Dutch cities, he retraced his steps to Utrecht, where he was to stay for some few months, in attendance at the university, his brother having left him and returned to Saxony. Here he continued the study of law, and seems to have been more interested in the lectures he heard than in those of the professors at Wittemberg; but he applied himself to a variety of other subjects, and among the rest to medicine, which had always had a great attraction for him. And it was here that he learnt English.

During his residence in Holland, Zinzendorf's health, which had always been delicate, was subject to frequent interruptions, which had their effect upon the state of his mind, and tended to fix his thoughts more than ever on the life to come. It was then that he adopted his motto, *Æternitate*. The intelligence of the death of his step-

father, Baron Canstein, deeply impressed him, and led him to meditate much on the heavenly rest prepared for the children of God. Canstein had been the guardian of the institutions founded by Franke, and he was Zinzendorf's ideal. The thoughts recorded by his young relative, on hearing of his death, are significant as showing the views he entertained and continued to cherish concerning that most solemn of all human events. After admitting that death is a terrible object, and calculated to make our nature tremble, he proceeds to express his astonishment that the saints of old should have had the weakness to dread it. "How could they," he asks, "like wearing the yoke so long? There was Hezekiah, a hero of the faith, and a man who did the will of God: Isaiah comes and tells him that God has determined to release him from his prison, and to receive him into His heavenly kingdom. One would expect to see this monarch, who had passed through so many trials, weeping for joy, and not for sorrow, at the tidings that he was about to escape from the miseries of this life. But—who would have thought it?—he actually desires to remain in his prison!"

"Take courage, children of God," he says, in conclusion. "The more boldly you look death in the face, the better you will see that he cannot hurt you. Does He not dwell within you who did not see corruption?" The calm and happy view of death thus expressed was so natural and so dear to Zinzendorf, that it was communicated to all who were intimate with him, and has been perpetuated to our own times in the Church of the United Brethren.

Among the great personages with whom Zinzendorf came

in contact during his stay in Holland were Count Lippe, a Prince of Nassau, Prince Trémouille, and the Princess of Orange, who gave him a distinguished reception. And among the learned men whose acquaintance he made, we may mention the famous French theologian and historian, James Basnage. "I was glad," he says, "to become acquainted with this great man. *He recognised the truth even in the opposite party.*"

The intercourse he enjoyed, while at this university, with the most eminent men of the Reformed Communion had the happiest effect upon his theological views. Just as at Wittemberg he lost the extreme prejudices which he had contracted at Halle against the Lutherans, so in Utrecht he was not long in perceiving the essential union that existed between the Lutherans and the Reformed, hostile as they were. And we shall soon see him taking another step in advance in Paris, where he formed the most affectionate fraternal intimacy with the high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and sought to realise the unity of the whole Christian Church.

In his labours at this period, and subsequently, to bring the members of different Christian communions nearer to each other, Zinzendorf no longer thought of such a fusion or formal agreement as he had recently dreamt of between the orthodox and the Pietists. There were many noble spirits in that age who indulged this visionary hope, and failed in their efforts to bring such a consummation to pass. But Zinzendorf did not wait to discuss differences of doctrine before he held out his hand to a member of another Church. He now regarded Jesus Christ as the

one central object in the gospel, and as constituting the abiding bond of union in the Church of all ages and all countries. And hence he could live in perfect communion with Christians of every denomination while holding faithfully to the distinctive principles which he believed to be true.

Another favourable result of his mingling with such intelligent men, and encountering such various opinions in Holland, was the check put upon his natural presumption.

"When I came to Utrecht," he observes, "I belonged to Wittemberg in theory, and to Halle in practice; so that I was a singular specimen of a young traveller, with a good many curious points about me, that might have afforded some instruction to any one who chose to study them. In Utrecht I had to do with Reformers, and with philosophers of all sorts. I began by endeavouring to cope with them in rather a boisterous fashion; but by degrees I became so tamed that I finished by listening to them; and, although knowing that we belonged to totally different schools, I felt that I must either keep my sentiments to myself, or find better arguments in their defence than I had been accustomed to use; for frequently, in the discussion, I had not courage to bring forward my strongest arguments; and I often thought, at the outset, that my opponents were better equipped to fight for error than I was to uphold the truth. Hence I was compelled to beat a retreat, and to let my opponents have the last word—a practice which led some persons to give me credit for being a modest young man."

In the beginning of September, Zinzendorf left Utrecht,

and repaired to Amsterdam and the Hague ; after which he made rapid visits to Rotterdam, Antwerp, Malines, Brussels, Valenciennes, and Cambray ; and thence bent his steps towards Paris, where he arrived on the 27th of September 1719, and put up at the Hôtel des Escarellés, in the Rue St Honoré.

At that moment France was passing through one of the most exciting periods of her changeful history. The city and the court, weary of the solemn monotony of the reign that had just closed, followed headlong in the wake of the regent, and rushed into a giddy whirl of pleasures and visionary novelties.

It was the time when Law's bank was intoxicating all classes with a perfect fury for speculation, and the street Quincampoix was crowded with foreigners from all parts of the compass, who came flocking to Paris, and jostled the Parisians in the scramble for Mississippi shares. During the six months that Zinzendorf spent in the French capital he saw the rise and fall of this extraordinary scheme.

The Church, too, partook of the general excitement. The *Bull Unigenitus* and the affair of the *Appellants* were occupying universal attention ; and Zinzendorf witnessed the dying struggle and final extinction of French liberty. Hence a vast field of observation and study must have presented itself to a young man of naturally quick discernment, having access, by right of noble birth, to the highest circles of Parisian society, and prepared by his religious and theological training to enter into the theological questions that were then agitating the public mind. Though his stay was short, it was singularly eventful, and formed

one of the most important chapters of his life. It is needless to say what temptations must have been in store for a young man of nineteen, with his naturally ardent feelings and exuberant imagination, possessing so many outward advantages, and universally loved and sought after. But the fact that he was kept faithful to his principles, and preserved from the seductions of the world, is a most instructive testimony to the power of his convictions. His plan was to seek out only those individuals in whom he could recognise the Saviour's grace, and to have no intimacy with any that did not appear to him worthy of his entire confidence. As to those who would have drawn him into evil, he says, "I held them at arm's length without the slightest compromise; and I seized the first opportunity of undeceiving them once for all."

He was delighted to meet with men of honest minds, both among the prelates and the monks, and he also made the acquaintance of some ladies "who had grace." "The time," he remarks, "did not appear to me long. On the contrary, I regretted that I was obliged to leave so soon. I was then very much under the law, and I have often since wondered at the patience of my friends, and especially of Cardinal de Noailles, who had to bear with my strange humour. For I wanted to enforce upon them what I believed to be true, and I was ready to break with my dearest friend at any moment, if I thought he could not be trusted in the Lord's cause. People did not know what category to put me in, for there was nothing extraordinary in my outward deportment, except that I did not dance at court, and did not gamble in Paris. Some persons gave it as

their opinion that I had retained my childish innocence. Those who thought ill of me took me for a Pietist, and the Pietists would not own me. I could have known all that awaited me there. I believe nothing would have induced me to remain an instant in that scene of temptation."

Zinzendorf did not spend much time on the sights of Paris. "Some things," he says, "to which people devote whole days, I saw quite enough of in a few hours." The Hôtel-Dieu interested him more than Versailles. But he hastened to parcel out his time to the best advantage; for, poet as he was, he was remarkable for the gift of order and arrangement. The morning he gave to business; in the afternoon he pursued the study of law and the French language; and he spent the evening in society.

For some time, however, after his arrival, he was confined to his room by serious illness, and thus left at liberty for his favourite occupations,—namely, the composition of sacred poetry, and reading theological books.

The first friend that Zinzendorf met with in Paris was Count Reuss, whom he had known before, and who afterwards became his brother-in-law. Then he found out Nicholas Watteville, the brother of his friend and fellow-student, Frederick Watteville, and was next introduced to Count Linange, the Princes of Gotha, Prince Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, the Swedish ambassador, and the celebrated Lord Stair, who showed a great regard for him. Among other French noblemen who received him, Cardinal Bussy and Marshal Villars may be named. It was Marshal Villars who presented him at court, and introduced him to the mother of the regent. This lady, who was a

daughter of the unfortunate Elector-Palatinate Charles-Louis of Bavaria, appears to have been a singularly interesting and original character. Her somewhat stiff propriety of manner, her rigid aristocratic principles, her sincere piety, and her German habits and tastes, strongly contrasted with the free-and-easy ways of her son, who was thoroughly French in his vices as well as in his amiable and shining qualities. Though she lived nearly half-a-century at the court of France, she always considered herself an exile; amidst the gaieties of the Palais Royal, she longed for the rural happiness of Heidelberg, and it is said that she spent the greater part of her life in writing to her friends in Germany.

The duchess received Zinzendorf as a fellow-countryman, and recollected that she had known his father and his uncle more than forty years before. She often conversed with him for hours together, and expressed great admiration for his piety and his blameless life. "I always remember with profit," he remarks, "the serious and truly Christian exhortations that I have heard her give her young son, the Duke de Chartres, who was at that time a very irreligious prince. On one occasion she asked him why he did not live as I did, telling him that I was a young man and a gentleman like himself, but that that did not prevent me from loving God with all my heart, and she was sure that I was a thousand times happier than he."

"Last Tuesday," the Count wrote to his mother, "when I went to see the duchess, she said to me, in German, 'Good evening, Count! Were you at the opera yesterday?'

'No, madam,' I replied; 'I have no time to go to the opera.' 'I hear,' she resumed, 'that you know the Holy Scriptures almost by heart.' 'I wish I did,' I replied, 'and that I acted accordingly. But who told your highness?' 'I do not recollect,' she said. While we were discussing who it could be, some one present exclaimed, 'Why, everybody says so,' and her ladyship confirmed it."

The affair of the Count de Horn was then on every one's lips. It was one of the sad results of the reckless stock-jobbing of that period. The young Count de Horn, who was a member of an illustrious house, connected by ties of relationship with most of the sovereigns of Europe, had allured a mechanic into a tavern, and made him tipsy, for the purpose of robbing him. In spite of the appeals made by some of the highest personages of the realm, the regent determined that justice should take its course; and four days after the commission of the crime, the culprit was broken on the wheel in the Place de Grève.

This ignominious punishment of a nobleman threw all the aristocratic classes into commotion, and the duchess herself did not approve of it. "It is useless," she remarked, "merely to say that it is always a sad thing to make an example of this kind." "It is to the honour of the regent," replied Zinzendorf, "to administer justice towards all; and we counts are specially interested in his doing so. I do not see that the dignity of our rank is more injured by the punishment than by the crime. The family of a gentleman is not dishonoured by his suffering death for a good cause; but a crime like that is a disgrace. People put confidence in a count, and certain actions are supposed to

be so beneath him, that they would not even occur to his mind. So that, if a count steals or commits murder, he ought to be punished publicly, and more severely than other criminals."

The duchess herself introduced Zinzendorf to the regent, who received him with his accustomed affability. But these marks of distinction did not turn the young man's head. "I regarded them," he says, "with fear and trembling, as dangerous allurements; and I thank God that whenever pride sought to gain the mastery, He humbled me in the dust under His paternal hand." "On one occasion," he continues, in reference to a point of court etiquette, "my honour was wounded, and I carried the matter so far that on the following day, which happened to be Good-Friday, I lodged a complaint against the master of the ceremonies, and demanded satisfaction. I was promised that my rights should be duly observed. But on considering my conduct more maturely, I saw that my pride was not yet dead; and the discovery deeply humbled me. I promised my Saviour, with tears, from this time to follow the example of His humility; and I came to the conclusion that I could not serve His kingdom while retaining the advantages of my position in the world. From that day to this, my opinion as to earthly honours and distinctions has remained unaltered, and the reproach of Christ is still my joy."

Zinzendorf did not at first feel much disposed to have any intercourse with the chiefs of the French clergy. He was shocked at the vices of some of them; and their rude ostentation was out of all keeping with his idea of

their holy calling. But having occasionally met with Père de la Tour, the general of the Congregation of the Oratoire, he found him to be a sincere Christian, and an intimate friendship sprang up between them. La Tour introduced him to Cardinal Noailles, who received him very cordially, and was so pleased with him that their first interview lasted for three hours and a half. This visit was followed by many others. The young count was often invited to the cardinal's table, and a warm affection soon began to exist on both sides. Zinzendorf used to read to his aged friend the letters he received from his grandmother, his mother, and his aunt; and the old man was delighted. At first the cardinal endeavoured to bring him over to the Catholic faith; but he soon gave up the attempt, at least for the time, and assured him that he would love him with all his heart as a child of God, apart from any idea of controversy.

Zinzendorf bears repeated testimony to the tolerant spirit manifested by Cardinal Noailles, and by other French ecclesiastics.

"I found the same thing," he says, "among the Catholics in France as I had done among some of the Protestants in Holland. They seldom used the arguments I had seen attributed to them in books; but instead of them they advanced others that were quite new to me, some of which I thought would be perfectly unanswerable, in opposition to certain enemies of our Church. . . . I must say, to the credit of them all, that when they found they were dealing with a man who disliked religious discussion, they completely abandoned it, and plunged with me into the

unfathomable ocean of the sufferings and merits of Jesus, and the grace that He has obtained for us."

Cardinal Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, was at this time the only hope of the Jansenists, and the last stay of liberty of conscience within the Gallican Church. So that all eyes were fixed upon him; and, in fact, it was a critical moment for the Church of France.

The doctrine of gratuitous salvation through faith, as laid down by the apostle Paul, developed by St Augustine, and reduced to fixed formulæ by Thomas Aquinas, maintained its place during the middle ages side by side with the Semi-Pelagianism of that period. The Dominicans were the representatives of Augustinianism, and the Franciscans of the opposite system. Up to the sixteenth century, no ecclesiastical authority had been exercised in favour of either side. But the Reformation led the Church to pronounce against Luther and Calvin, both of whom closely followed Augustine. The Council of Trent, while clothing its decrees in a certain amount of diplomatic obscurity, turned the balance the other way; but it did not destroy Augustinianism even within the Catholic Church. The condemned doctrines were boldly defended by certain theologians of the university of Louvain; and in the seventeenth century, Jansenius again put them forward.

Jansenism, as it was then called, was represented in France by the Abbé St Cyran, and the convent of Port-Royal. Learning, genius, and personal sanctity crowned it with a threefold glory that rendered it peculiarly hateful to the Jesuits, who were its most implacable foes. After a long process of intrigues, they succeeded in obtaining its

condemnation, and Port-Royal, the renowned refuge of Arnauld, Pascal, and Racine, was razed to the ground.

But the vengeance of the Jesuits was not yet satisfied. There were many, among the higher clergy in France, who still stood opposed to their creed, and it was important to get rid of them. Pope Clement XI. was easily persuaded to proceed against them, as he considered it a favourable juncture for the utter destruction of the liberties of the Gallican Church.

A commentary on the New Testament, published by Père Quesnel, served as a pretext for this final blow. The Pope and the Jesuits joined in the work, and the famous *Bull Unigenitus* soon appeared, condemning Quesnel's book, and declaring a hundred and one propositions contained in it heretical. Among these propositions were not only those that agreed with the views of Jansenius and Augustine, but others that were only objected to on the ground that they tended to promote the reading of the Holy Scriptures, or favoured the religious liberties of France. The meshes of the net were made so close as to preclude all chance of escape.

This bull, as might be expected, was followed by a long series of troubles; and the parliament refused to enrol it till actually compelled to do so, after several presidents had been successively dismissed. Noailles and other bishops refused to receive the bull till certain explanations, which they thought requisite, had been obtained from Rome. The Pope threatened to depose and excommunicate them. They held a council; but the Pope was immovable; and the French clergy then became divided

into two parties, the *Appellants* and the *Acceptants*. Such was the state of affairs when Zinzendorf became acquainted with the Archbishop of Paris.

In less troublous times, and under more auspicious circumstances, Noailles would have been a model bishop. His piety and learning commanded universal esteem, and his amiable disposition and charming manners won all hearts. He did not plume himself on his high rank or official dignity; but laid himself out for the interests of his diocese, and endeavoured to employ his revenues "in such a manner," as he states, "that he might be found faithful when the Father of the family came to require his account." The most prominent feature of his character was a love of peace; which, unfortunately, was not always accompanied by sufficient firmness, and sometimes led him to make concessions with regard to principles which it was his duty to uphold.

Up to this time the cardinal had held out in his opposition to the bull; but there was reason to fear that he might grow weary of the conflict, or give way to a mistaken spirit of conciliation, and eventually abandon the party. Zinzendorf soon became alive to his friend's infirmity, and on two occasions, with the generous indiscretion of his youth, took it upon him to lay down the law to the aged prelate, and entreated him not to desert the cause of Christ, or to allow any questions of self-interest to be weighed in the balance with the welfare of the Church of God. Noailles listened to the exhortations of the young Count, and promised him not to consent to any compromise "without providing for the safety of the truth."

The cause of the Jansenists, however, was almost despaired of. They had appealed to a council, and though the request was denied them, it might have been safely predicted that if the council had met, it would have done them no more justice than the Pope himself ; for when the foreign bishops were consulted on the subject of the bull, they all gave in their adhesion to it. The issue of the matter eventually depended on the French Government, and it was a question whether it would carry out the decrees of the Pope, or make a stand on behalf of the liberties of the Gallican Church. With a pontiff like Clement XI. resistance would have involved a rupture, and this the regent wished to avoid. Accordingly he himself submitted, and he commanded every one else to do so. The bishops who refused to comply were deposed.

Cardinal Noailles, tired of contention, and perhaps afraid of finding himself at the head of an actual schism, at length gave way. He signed his adhesion, though with certain restrictive clauses. The news was a sad blow to Zinzendorf. He felt it his duty at once to break with a man whose fidelity to the cause of the Saviour had thus been laid open to suspicion, and he immediately wrote him a farewell letter, breathing an affectionate and respectful spirit, but renouncing further intercourse " during this sad life." In spite of this, however, their friendship was not altogether suspended ; and we find the Count, on his return to Germany, addressing a letter of condolence to the archbishop, whose brother, the bishop of Chalons, had just died. In this letter he solicited permission to dedicate to the archbishop a French translation of a work of J. Arndt,

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entitled, *True Christianity*. The reply of Noailles to both of these letters has been preserved, and shows that he still retained his attachment to his young friend, and had not yet abandoned the hope of winning him over to the Church of Rome.

It would seem that Zinzendorf must have forgotten the cardinal's refusal of his request, for when his work was finished he dedicated it to Noailles, and got his friend Frederick Watteville to present it to him. The prelate was pleased with the book; but the appearance of his name, as sanctioning a Protestant work, was an anomaly that occasioned him some little perplexity.

Zinzendorf's residence in Paris, though of short duration, had an important influence upon his after-history. His intercourse with the dignitaries of the Romish Church was not confined to Père de la Tour and Cardinal Noailles. The bishops of Chalons, Montpellier, and Boulogne, Père d'Albizi, and many other distinguished ecclesiastics, had made him their associate, and it was not without feelings of regret that he turned his back upon the French metropolis in the spring of 1720.

CHAPTER IV.

A SINGULAR EPISODE.

ZINZENDORF's route, in leaving France, lay through Switzerland and Central Germany. At Bâle, he met his friends Frederick and Nicholas Watteville, and was introduced to Samuel Werenfels, one of the most eminent theologians of the Reformed communion. Thence he proceeded, by way of Zurich and Nuremberg, to the castle of Oberbirg, on a visit to his aunt, the Dowager Duchess of Polheim.

During the summer days that he enjoyed in this rural abode, we find him, as ever, full of the one object dearest to his heart—the cause of his Saviour. On the Sunday, he used to spend several hours in perfect retirement, and nothing could induce him to depart from this habit. His friends often tried to persuade him to abandon what seemed to them a strange way of living; but all their efforts were vain. “I would rather be despised,” he wrote at this period, “and hated for the sake of Jesus, than be beloved for my own sake, and thus hindered from serving the Lord in all simplicity.”

The steward of the countess was a Swiss, named Heitz, a man of sincere and fervent piety. He had composed, in his native dialect, a poetical history of the sufferings of Christ, with annotations. Zinzendorf was pleased with

this production, and he revised it, and added to it with a view to its future publication. This was his chief occupation at Oberbirg. But the affairs of the Church of France were often in his thoughts, and he held to the belief that, in spite of the defection of Cardinal Noailles, the cause of freedom in that country was not lost. He wrote several letters to the *appellant* bishops whom he knew, encouraging them to be steadfast. "It is my hope," he said to one of his correspondents, "that through you, God will preserve the truth to France. You will not be put to death for that, and even if you were, what better death could you die?"

Nor were these empty words. They breathed the martyr-spirit that burned in his own breast, and that longed for occasions of self-sacrifice. We have said that there was something chivalrous and impassioned in his piety, and that it bore the impress of the poet and the gentleman sanctified by grace. The following incident may serve to illustrate the truth of this remark:—

From Oberbirg he went to a place called Castell to see another of his aunts. He intended to stay a week, but was detained, by illness, for two months. During this visit he was thrown into the society of his cousin Theodora, the youngest daughter of the Countess of Castell, and a strong attachment resulted. On submitting his wishes to his aunt, he found that she not only assented, but, as she herself told him, she "desired it with all her heart." The young lady declined to give him a decided answer to his proposals. But, although not evincing any particular preference for him, she intimated that she would agree to the marriage "if it were the will of God, and He inclined her

heart in favour of it." She went so far, however, as to give him her portrait, and promised to see him again.

Zinzendorf set out, in high hope, to lay his cherished project before his parents, whose consent he readily obtained, and he soon returned, with a bounding heart, towards the home of his beloved. But an accident arrested his steps. It was winter, and the Elster had become so swollen by the snow, that he nearly lost his life in attempting to cross it near the little town of Plauen. Compelled to wait at this spot till the road became passable, he wrote to his friend, Count Reuss, on whose estate he was thus made a prisoner, and told him of his marvellous escape. The count invited him to Ebersdorf, and he accepted the invitation.

Henry XXIX., the reigning count of Reuss-Ebersdorf, was an intimate friend of Zinzendorf, and the two young men were animated by similar religious sentiments. It was but recently, as we have seen, that they had parted in Paris. Henry had just attained his majority, and succeeded to the sole government of his dominions.

In the course of conversation one day, some remarks were made on the subject of marriage, and Zinzendorf was asked his opinion as to the choice that he thought his friend ought to make. After a long discussion of various names, ranging over almost all Christendom, Henry's mother, the Dowager Countess of Reuss, exclaimed, "Of all the ladies that have been mentioned, there is not one equal to Theodora Castell; but we must not dream of her, and Count Zinzendorf knows why better than anybody else."

Though Theodora had not given him her formal promise,

Zinzendorf felt sure of obtaining it. But the remarks he had heard led him to reflect, and he asked himself whether they were not an indication of the Divine will, and whether God had not destined the object of his choice for another. He determined that, if this were the case, he would resign her without hesitation. He then advised Count Reuss to propose to Theodora, and assured him that, so far from insisting on any claim he himself might have, he would do his best to advance his friend's wishes. Henry at first protested against accepting such a sacrifice, but Zinzendorf adhered to his suggestion, and they both set out for Castell. Henry lost no time in his advances, but it was a delicate matter to deal with, for though neither the Countess nor her daughter manifested any objection to Henry, they thought it right to stand by the terms of their agreement with Zinzendorf. But he obviated all difficulty by pleading against himself; and succeeded so well that the marriage of Henry and Theodora was speedily arranged.

Zinzendorf has often been charged with folly for his conduct on this occasion, and his enemies have used it to his disparagement. His friends, on the contrary, looked upon him as acting a heroic part, while he explains it himself very simply.

"To judge from your letter," he writes to the Countess Reuss, "one would suppose that I had done something rare and wonderful in giving up Theodora to my friend Henry. But I can only see one thing in it, namely, that it was God's will. I adore that sovereign will, and I give myself up to it, in readiness to suffer, so long as it is but carried out; for that will can have no purposes but those of love."

It appears from a letter of his, written a year and a half subsequently to this event, that the formalism in the family at Castell was strongly opposed to his religious views, and gradually produced a coldness on the part of the countess, so that, even if this had not presented itself to his own mind as a difficulty, it may serve to explain the readiness of his aunt to renounce the thought of the proposed union.

Be this as it may, the surrender had an important influence on Zinzendorf. Several years afterwards, in describing this period of his life to Charles Wesley, he said, "From that moment, I was freed from all self-seeking, so that for ten years I have not done my own will in anything, great or small. My own will is hell to me." *

Zinzendorf was at the marriage of Henry and Theodora, and himself implored the Divine blessing on their nuptials, in a prayer that drew tears from the eyes of all present. He also composed a cantata for the occasion, which was performed after the ceremony. †

The desire to consecrate himself to the cause of Christ still predominated, and the question how he should realise it was the theme of his thoughts day and night. The course pursued by Baron Canstein, for whom he always had cherished the highest admiration, awakened his warmest sympathy, and he repaired to Halle to offer himself for some office in connexion with the religious institutions which had been founded by Franke in that city. But be-

* Jackson's *Life of John Wesley*, vol. i., p. 115.

† Theodora retired, after the death of her husband, to Herrnhut, where she became *General Elder of the Choirs of Widows*, and died there in 1777.

fore he had time to impart his views to Franke, this devoted philanthropist made him a formal proposal that they should "labour together in the work of faith, with courage, humility, and patience."

The Count gladly accepted this offer, and immediately wrote to his parents for their approval; but, contrary to his expectation, it was refused. He submitted without a murmur, though it was a hard sacrifice for him to make, for he not only had to forego what his heart desired, but was obliged to withdraw the promise he had made to Franke, who would probably attribute the change to fickleness of purpose.

He accordingly quitted Halle, and went to Berlin to visit his mother, whom he had not seen for several years. He confided his sentiments to her, but she could not fully respond to them; she was a woman of strong sense and cool judgment, and she no doubt feared that he was being carried away by the dreams of a heated imagination. It was her desire to see him follow in the steps of his father, and occupy an official post at court. He could serve God, she said, in this sphere just as well as in any other. But Zinzendorf felt that this would expose him to too many snares, and would not promote the glory of Christ and the salvation of men as he desired; so that he and his mother still widely differed in their views.

Meantime, on the 26th of May 1721, he attained his majority, and soon afterwards he returned to Hennemersdorf. He had now finished his education, and completed the course of travel marked out for him, and was about to enter upon a new kind of life.

The two years that had just elapsed had been fruitful of important results. Zinzendorf had seen the world, and had been preserved from its perils. He had also obtained an intimate knowledge of the different Churches; for he had successively attended both the schools of learning that represented the two opposite parties in the Lutheran body; he had been thrown amongst the Reformed in Holland, and the Catholics in Paris, and had met with disciples of Christ everywhere.

“All of us,” said Luther, “who have been washed and sanctified by the blood of Christ, are members of the true Church; we are members of Christ, and are brethren, whether we belong to Rome, to Wittenberg, or to Jerusalem.” This grand principle, which belongs to the very essence of Protestantism, became strangely obscured; and, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, it was regarded as a heresy by all the Churches alike. It was reserved for Zinzendorf to bring it to light again; and he was the right man to undertake the task; for with him it was not merely a theoretic principle, but the fruit of his own experience.

CHAPTER V.

ZINZENDORF A STATESMAN AND A HUSBAND.

ZINZENDORF had been away eleven years when he returned to the home of his childhood, which was then occupied by his grandmother, the baroness; his great aunt, Madame de Meusback; and his aunt, Mademoiselle de Gersdorf. Young, imaginative, trained by travel for intercourse with the world, and having acquired a considerable amount of knowledge and experience, he naturally found the society of the three old ladies somewhat monotonous. But he occupied himself in giving religious instruction to two young boys whom he took under his care, and in presiding over the public religious meetings held in the castle. The time now arrived for him to determine on his future course; or rather his grandmother and his aunt, who still claimed the right to direct him as if he were a child, had chosen it for him. They had decided that he should enter the service of the king, with a view to high office in the State.

Had Zinzendorf been consulted, there can be no doubt as to what his choice would have been. His highest aspiration was to preach the gospel. He had felt called, from his infancy, to win souls to Christ; and this desire had only increased day by day. He pleaded with his

relatives to allow him to follow this inward calling; but his entreaties were in vain. With all their piety, they could not understand how a young man of sense could want to be a minister of Christ, when he might be a minister of the King of Poland.

As the pastoral vocation seemed thus closed to him, he wished at any rate to choose one in harmony with the deepest desires of his soul. He would have liked to purchase an estate, where he could live in a quiet way, apart from the pomp of the world, devoting himself to the welfare of his dependants, and labouring to disseminate among them the knowledge of Jesus.

The difficulty of doing anything for the gospel in a scene of worldliness and dissipation like the court of Saxony under Augustus the Brave, no doubt helped to increase the repugnance he felt towards the course prescribed for him. He would have preferred taking office in Denmark, where he saw that real Christianity was taking root in high places. Frederick, the prince royal of Denmark, was devoted to the cause of the gospel. He had just married the daughter of the pious Margrave of Brandenburg, whom Zinzendorf had met on his visit to Castell, and with whom he had since kept up a correspondence. The Count could easily have obtained an appointment at the court of Copenhagen, and, in fact, he was on the point of departure for that city when his grandmother again interposed, and expressed her strong desire that he should settle at the court of Dresden. He considered that the views he entertained as to the duty of filial obedience bound him to acquiesce, although he still nourished a kind of prophetic conviction

that God would, ere long, open his way for higher usefulness.

Towards the end of the year 1721, Zinzendorf entered upon his duties as a judge and member of the Aulic Council in the electorate of Saxony. During the five years that he continued in this double capacity his time was chiefly occupied in endeavouring to settle disputes between certain peasants and the lord of the manor, who claimed authority over them. The first thing he did, on his arrival at the scene of his official duties, was to tell the chancellor that he had no desire for advancement, and would prefer being employed in matters of this kind to any more ambitious functions. The chancellor had no difficulty in meeting his wishes, as they were so convenient for the aspirations of others.

Zinzendorf took so little interest in temporal matters, and was so completely absorbed in spiritual things, that he naturally steered clear of all interference with the political aims of those about him, and they, in return, overlooked what appeared to them eccentricities in his religious habits, and forgave any little instances of indiscretion arising from his zeal.

“I arrived,” he says, “at court. My parents wished it, and I knew no way of escape. What was I to do? I was bent on keeping my treasure; I wished to be a friend of God, and an enemy of the world; and, accordingly, I set to work with everybody, great and small, in such a heedless way, though with a good motive, that now, when I think of it, I cannot but wonder at the patience and forbearance shown me by the court generally, and by all the

members of the ministry, whom I must have wearied with my religion."

But while Zinzendorf thus frankly confesses his youthful imprudence, he never regretted it. "I know," he observes, at a subsequent period, "that there is a good deal of boasting about what is called the *happy medium*—neither too much nor too little. But experience teaches the very reverse of this principle, and shows that the only way to begin a good work is to throw the whole heart and soul into it. It is of no use to think about avoiding extremes at the outset. We always begin by extremes, and that happy state of mind which enables us to suit our thoughts, words, and actions to every occasion, is only reached by long experience and reflection."

Not content, however, with the opportunities offered by personal intercourse for bringing his friends to the knowledge of the gospel, Zinzendorf opened his house for public religious meetings. It was a novel thing in that age to see a statesman with a sword at his side standing up to preach Christ. But his superiors in the government took no exception to it, and the ecclesiastical authorities proved to be equally tolerant. The meetings were held every Sunday, from three o'clock in the afternoon to seven in the evening, during which time there was conversation on religious subjects, singing, and reading of the New Testament. The spirit of love that animated these gatherings produced happy fruits. Zinzendorf shut no one out; and he not only welcomed the poorest of the flock, but he made no scruple of admitting persons holding strange views, and allowing them freely to advance their opinions, if he saw

that they evinced a serious desire after truth and salvation. In several instances he succeeded in bringing back those who had lapsed into error to sound doctrine and Christian fellowship.

Since the beginning of the movement which took the name of Pietism, the aspect of religious affairs in Germany had undergone a great change. Pietism, though at first despised and persecuted, gradually prevailed in the upper classes of society. It became fashionable to side with the Halle professors, and the clergy themselves at length discovered that persons of such high rank could not be altogether in the wrong. The old theology of Wittenberg daily lost ground. But a succession of victories not unfrequently paves the way for defeat, and so it was with the Pietists. What they gained in outward power and importance, they lost in real life; while the orthodox party, strengthened by their fall, had learnt to live by faith.

All this only taught Zinzendorf to keep clearer than ever of sectarian distinctions. Brought up among the Pietists, he had always regarded himself as one of them; but from this time he threw off all party colours, and became more and more catholic in his spirit. This was the first thing that aroused hostility against him.

At that time many earnest minds felt the need of a new reformation within the Protestant Churches. It was seen that the work commenced by Luther had yet to be finished, and that the Churches formed in Germany, as the result of the movement in the sixteenth century, were not constituted on principles altogether consistent with the gospel, and that much remained to be rectified, especially

in regard to ecclesiastical discipline. Zinzendorf was quite of this opinion, and he tells us that for some years his own mind was much occupied with questions of this nature. But he at length came to the conclusion that, whatever might be their importance, he was not called to spend his strength upon them, but that his mission was to labour directly for the salvation of souls. He was convinced that all ecclesiastical questions are but of secondary consequence, and that in paying so much attention to matters of form there is danger of losing the one thing really needful. The one thing he desired—and we repeat it, because he was fond of repeating it himself—was to find out the true friends of the Saviour in every Church, and to unite them in the bonds of spiritual affection, by raising them above all those divisions which spring from differences in doctrine and form.

In furtherance of this object, he wished to have a house of his own that he could throw open to all Christians without distinction, and particularly to those who might be oppressed or persecuted. Accordingly, he purchased of his grandmother an estate called Berthelsdorf, a short distance from her own mansion, and surrounded by one of the loveliest landscapes in Saxony,—the panorama of mountain and valley, with its hill-side sunny slopes, and meadows, and streams, and fruitful orchards, interspersed with smiling villages, forming one of those classic pictures over which the eye ranges with endless delight. He did not resign his post at Dresden, but he gave his chief energies to the welfare of his dependants, and sought to promote among them that spirit of brotherly love, which

he so longed to see everywhere prevailing. The cure of Berthelsdorf being just then vacant, the nomination of a pastor was the first public act he was called to perform in his new dominions. We can easily imagine what importance Zinzendorf attached to this matter, and with what extreme care his right of appointment was exercised.

He at length fixed on Rothe, a man of fervent piety, and an excellent preacher, who had been restrained, by scruples of conscience, from seeking a charge. The Count's letter, conveying the invitation to Rothe, is dated the 19th of May 1722, the day on which he received homage from his vassals at Berthelsdorf. "You will find in me," he writes to Rothe, "a faithful helper and an affectionate brother, rather than a patron." What he wished was to be a kind of deacon to the pastor of his village, and to render him all the assistance he could in his labours.

Having thus provided for the spiritual wants of his people, he turned his attention to matters of a more personal nature, and appointed Heitz, who had served his aunt at Oberbirg, to be his steward. The owners of the estate at Berthelsdorf not having resided there for more than two hundred years, the manorial residence had fallen into decay, and was quite uninhabitable, so that he had to re-erect a new dwelling. He wished to be exceedingly simple and in close keeping with the motto which he afterwards had inscribed over the threshold, pointing to a better habitation in heaven. He was also anxious to choose a companion who would aid him in the work he had laid out for himself, and his choice fell upon Erdmuth Dorothy—a

sister of his friend, Count Reuss—whose acquaintance he had made on the occasion of his visit to Ebersdorf.

In writing to his grandmother on the subject, he says : “There will be some difficulties, for I am but a poor match, and, I confess, the Countess will have to content herself with a life of self-denial. She will have to cast all ideas of rank and quality to the winds, as I have done ; for they are not things of divine institution, but inventions of human vanity. If she wishes to aid me, she must give herself to what is the sole object of my life,—namely, to win souls to Christ, and that in the midst of contempt and reproach.”

The Count did not conceal these views from the lady herself. He frankly told her that he was determined not to live for himself, but for God and his neighbour ; that he was tired of the vanities of the world ; that he had no thought of pleasing men ; that if God should call him to labour in a distant field, he was ready to go, staff in hand, and preach the gospel to the heathen ; and that in order to divest himself of every trammel, and to hold himself perfectly free for the work that might be before him, he should renounce all his possessions, and make them over to his future wife. The transfer was actually made in the form of a contract of sale, and in the presence of a notary ; but the Count wished it to be kept perfectly private.

We shall see, in the further course of our narrative, the important part acted by the Countess in all her husband's labours. Zinzendorf pays her a warm tribute in his *Reflections*, written in 1747. “An experience of twenty-five

years," he says, "has taught me that the help I have had is the only kind of help that touches my vocation at every point."

The marriage was celebrated in the month of September, at Ebersdorf, and the Count and Countess proceeded thence to Dresden.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FOUNDATION OF HEERNHUT.

THE prayer of Zinzendorf, in reference to a spiritual calling, was now about to be answered in a remarkable manner; and his history from this time becomes so blended with that of the Moravian Brethren, that we must here recall the early days of that ancient Church, then about to be revived under a new form and constitution.

Bohemia and Moravia, the two advanced posts of the Slavonian tribes in the midst of the Germanic races, though situated between the boundaries of Eastern and Western Europe, had never been entirely subject to European influence. The inhabitants of these countries, who were pagans up to the middle of the ninth century, then received the gospel, in common with many other Slavonian peoples, from the Greek monks, Cyril and Methodius. Political interests soon brought their chiefs into contact with the court of Rome; but the Pope found it necessary to make certain concessions to their established customs,—as, for example, the reading of the sacred books, and the celebration of worship in the vulgar tongue.

Gregory VII. did what he could, in accordance with his scheme of centralisation, to rob the Bohemians of the rights they had inherited from their ancestors; but he

gained only a very partial success, and the leaven of independence secretly worked among the people and the clergy. Bohemia became a centre of rebellion,—“a refuge for heresy,” as Œneas Sylvius afterwards called it. The famous reformer, Peter Waldo, of Lyons, went there for shelter; and during the whole period of the middle ages, the evangelical party, though decimated by persecutions and defections, maintained its existence in that country, recruited from time to time by the remains of all the condemned sects, and the survivors of fruitless efforts for Reform. The community, thus constituted, became aggressive under John Huss, and under his successors it took up arms in defence of its own existence, which had become bound up with the cause of Bohemian nationality.

Though the armed resistance of the Hussites so far succeeded as to secure for them freedom of worship for a time, two distinct influences were at work within the bosom of their church, which soon led to division. One party, the *Calixtines*, only asked that the papal government should recognise certain liberties, which they regarded as the legitimate inheritance of the Bohemian Church; while the other, called the *Taborites*, assumed the position of formal objection to the sovereignty of the court of Rome, and like the Vaudois, professed to maintain the constitution of the primitive apostolic church in all its purity. The Calixtines might be styled the Gallicans of Bohemia, and the Taborites the Protestants.

“About the year 1450,” says Count Valerian Krasinski, in his *Religious History of the Slavonian Races*, “the Taborites changed their name and called themselves *Bohe-*

mian Brethren, and in 1456 they began to form a community distinct from the rest of the adherents of John Huss or the Calixtines. In 1458, they suffered severe persecutions at the hands of the Catholics and the Calixtines. Persecution was renewed more severely than ever in 1466; but this did not diminish the zeal or the courage of the Taborites. On the contrary, they only became more devoted to their faith. They convened a synod in a place called Lhota, and constituted their church by electing elders, after the custom of their forefathers. Having adopted the doctrinal views of the Vaudois, their priests received ordination from Stephen, the Vaudois bishop of Vienne in Dauphiné, a circumstance that led to their being known by the name of Vaudois. This first Protestant Slavonian church underwent ceaseless persecution, and its members were obliged to hold their meetings for worship in caves, in the depths of forests, and wherever they could find a retreat, whilst they were stigmatised as Adamites, Picards, and thieves, and branded by other offensive epithets."

Although long oppressed by the government, the brethren enjoyed the sympathies of the people, who looked upon them as the last defenders of Bohemian nationality, and, besides that, esteemed them for the purity of their lives. Zinzendorf relates that in a persecution directed against them by the Archbishop of Prague, the police-officer who was charged to arrest them entered the room where they were assembled and addressed them in these words:—"Considering that all *that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution*,* the persons present in this assem-

* 2 Tim. iii. 12.

bly must follow me to prison." The brethren obeyed this singular summons without hesitation.*

The community of the Brethren held on, sometimes persecuted beyond measure, and sometimes enjoying a brief respite during the reigns of more moderate princes, till the days of Luther and the Reformation. This great event inspired them with new courage. They felt that they were one with the Protestants in all the essential points of their faith, and were animated by the same spirit. They had to bear their share of the calamities that befel the Lutherans during the thirty years' war; but in the treaty of Westphalia, which guaranteed the rights of the German Protestants, no mention was made of the Bohemian brethren. Many of them fled to Poland, Prussia, and Saxony, and there founded little communities. In their own country no toleration was granted them, and while they could only carry on their worship in the utmost secrecy, they were obliged to observe the most vigilant precaution in concealing their books from the eyes of their oppressors.

The victories of Charles XII., at the opening of the eighteenth century, brought them some relief, by the momentary terror exerted in the breasts of their foes. But it was of short duration, for their last hope perished with the fall of the Swedish hero, and the weight of the Austrian arm came down upon them with redoubled force. They

* See a *Manuscript History of the Ancient Church of the Brethren*, by Zinzendorf, in the library of Geneva. In this document Zinzendorf is sometimes at variance with modern historians, whom we have thought it right to follow. He considers, for example, that the two names, *Calixtines* and *Taborites*, designated one and the same party, and that this was quite distinct from that which founded the community of the Brethren.

then saw that they had no mercy to look for in their own country, and they began to think of other regions, determining to forsake their homes and native land, and to seek an asylum where they might worship God according to their own conscience. Thus the tide of emigration set in, and there was a general movement from all parts of Bohemia and Moravia.

The man who, in the providence of God, was raised up to direct this movement was a Moravian carpenter, named Christian David. According to the testimony of his contemporaries, he was a man of ability and of extraordinary energy. Brought up in the Romish Church, to which his parents belonged, he had been the subject of religious feelings from his childhood, and having left his native village at an early age, he travelled over a considerable portion of Germany, working at his trade as he went. The reading of the Scriptures led him to the fountain of divine grace, and thus satisfied the deep cravings of his heart. He joined the Lutheran Church, and in the visits that he paid at various times after this event to the land of his birth, he became acquainted with many of the United Brethren. A revival sprang up among them through his instrumentality, resulting in a clearer understanding of the gospel, a more living faith, and a firmer attachment to the doctrines handed down by their fathers; and while they groaned more than ever under the oppression to which they were subject, they deeply felt their isolation from all religious influences in the midst of the utter darkness that surrounded them.

At the commencement of the year 1722, Christian David,

having been introduced to Zinzendorf in Lusatia, gave him a vivid description of the miserable state of his co-religionists in Moravia, and took the opportunity to bespeak his protection on behalf of those who might determine to emigrate. Although the Count did not attach special importance to this matter, he seems to have become interested in the circumstances made known to him. This brief interview, however, was sufficient to reveal the character of Zinzendorf to his new friend, and the carpenter returned to Moravia with the joyful news that this young nobleman was thoroughly devoted to the service of Christ, and would readily welcome any of them who might wish to seek shelter under his roof.

There was at that time a family of five brothers in the village of Schleu in Moravia, named Neisser. Their parents were Roman Catholics; but their grandmother, who was a descendant of the ancient Bohemian Church, had instructed them in the Holy Scriptures. The pious conversation of a soldier who had been quartered with them some years before, revived the impressions of their childhood, and made them secretly resolve to leave all they possessed, if they could but find a place where they and their children might be free to pursue their eternal interests.

They first thought of Hungary or Transylvania; but the accounts they received, as to the chance of establishing themselves there, offered little encouragement. The report now brought by David induced them to follow his advice, and to seek a refuge in Lusatia. Two of them, artisans of superior skill,—*fameux couteliers*, as Zinzendorf

calls them,*—resolved to set the example, and to depart without delay.

They reached Berthelsdorf in the month of June. The Count was not at home; but they were furnished with letters of recommendation to Heitz, his steward, and to Marche, who was tutor to the grandchildren of the Baroness of Gersdorf. Heitz informed the Count of the new arrival, and Zinzendorf immediately wrote from Dresden, whence he was about to start for his marriage at Ebersdorf, authorising the Moravian emigrants to stay in his dominions till he should find them another place of abode. His intention was to obtain permission from Count Reuss for them to establish themselves in his territories; and he hailed them as the first-fruits of that fraternal community which he had long dreamed of.

But while the Count was at Ebersdorf, the affair took a turn that he had not anticipated. Heitz and Marche took an active part in providing for the wants of the new comers, and succeeded in interesting the Baroness Gersdorf in their favour. She sent them a cow to supply them with milk for their children, and gave them permission to cut as much wood from the forest as they required to build a house. The site selected for them was on an elevation belonging to the Count, about a quarter of a league from Berthelsdorf, and by the main road to Zittau. It was a wild, marshy spot, covered with brushwood, overhung by a hill called the Hutberg, on the

* See the Geneva Manuscript. In the above account the endeavour has been made to reconcile the statements of Zinzendorf with those of Croeger, which differ in some points.

summit of which was the peaceful cemetery, where the traveller may read, among the simple records that distinguish the last resting-places of the Brethren, the name of Zinzendorf, and that of Christian David who felled the first tree to build a home for the Moravian exiles. Above the threshold, as the sacred enclosure is approached, are the words: "Now is Christ risen from the dead;" and on the inside the passage is completed, "and become the first-fruits of them that slept." There is something deeply impressive in the very simplicity of everything within this dwelling of the dead. There is not a single line of encomium; no parade of names or titles; not a single funeral urn, or broken column, or lighted torch; nothing to break the stillness and the solemnity of the place where God watches over the dust of His beloved.

The builders commenced their task on the 17th of June 1722, a day that will ever be memorable in the annals of the Moravian Brethren; for the humble structure then commenced proved to be the first habitation in the future village of Herrnhut. The work was beset with many difficulties; but they laboured on bravely, and encouraged by the conviction that a special blessing would rest upon an undertaking begun in faith. Shaefer, in the sermon he preached at the installation of his friend Rothe as pastor, made use of these prophetic words: "God will kindle a light on these hills which shall shine over the whole country: I am assured of it by faith."

The significant name of Herrnhut—*watched of the Lord*, that Heitz chose for the house before it was finished, indi-

cated the same impression on his part. "God grant," he wrote to the Count, "that your excellency may found at the feet of the Hutberg, (hill of watch,) a city which shall not only be watched of the Lord, but whose inhabitants shall keep watch before Him day and night."*

Zinzendorf, who was regularly informed by Heitz of what was doing in his dominions, took a lively interest in all these proceedings, and in a letter written to his vassals to introduce Rothe as their pastor, he gave a warm welcome to the "pilgrims whom the Lord had led into a strange land," and exhorted them so to live that they might be "the salt of his people," while he entreated his own dependants not to be outrun in spiritual attainments by their new neighbours.

By the month of October, the house was ready, and Christian David and the two Moravian families took possession, Heitz commemorating the occasion by a solemn religious service, and a discourse from the words of Isaiah, that had suggested its name, "I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night: ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth," (Isa. lxii. 6, 7.) He then read the description of the heavenly Jerusalem, in the 21st chapter of the Revelation; and the little company knelt down together, and prayed that God would make this house also His tabernacle, and dwell there among them.

* In allusion to Isaiah lxii. 6.

At the end of December, the Count and Countess left Dresden, to escape the gaieties of the court at that season, on their way to pass the winter on their own estate; and as they approached the castle of Hennersdorf in the evening when it was dark, the Count, observing a little twinkling light that he had never seen before, in the wood at the base of the Hutberg, asked what it was. It was the dwelling of the infant Moravian colony.

The Count immediately left his carriage, and hastening to the door of the cottage found the inmates seated round the hearth, enjoying the fruit of their toils. He now gave them a cordial personal welcome, and kneeling down with them, thanked God, and committed them to the gracious and faithful care of the Saviour.

CHAPTER VII.

FIRST EXPERIENCES IN THE COLONY.

FREDERICK WATTEVILLE, who had joined the Count and Countess at Dresden, accompanied them in their journey to Hennersdorf. He was a college friend of Zinzendorf, and was now about to become a fellow-labourer. The desires which they had both cherished from their childhood were thus to be fulfilled in their united experience.

Watteville, according to Schrautenbach, who knew him personally, and gives an interesting description of him, was a young man of a noble character, who at once inspired even those who had learnt to trust no one, with a feeling of confidence. He was exceedingly affable, unpretending, and opposed to all show. He was a thoroughly faithful friend, and always looked at the good side of everybody. He had great penetration, but there was too much kindness and good breeding mingled with it to render him in the least degree formidable to honest people. He was unusually happy and cheerful, though singularly unequal in his temperament. He consecrated all his energy to the good of his fellow-creatures,—cared nothing about any kind of preference or distinction,—was absent and forgetful,—but a gentleman in person, education, and manners.

Such was the man chosen of God to be Zinzendorf's

Melancthon, and one of the pillars of the new Church of the Brethren. But he had not yet found peace of soul. Indeed he was far from it. His mind had not been regulated like Zinzendorf's. Since he left the Pœdagogium he had passed the principal part of his time, in Paris, where he had seen the world and loved it. He had been drawn into the vortex of gambling, and had sometimes gained and sometimes lost enormous sums. Philosophy, too, had brought its seductions to bear upon him, and had insensibly worn away the simple faith in which he had been trained.

But neither the world's wisdom nor its follies had served to satisfy him. He soon became weary of its hollow vanities, and then sought to recover the peace and joy of his childhood, by again putting himself under the propitious influence of one to whom he looked up with the highest esteem. During the early part of his stay at Hennersdorf and at Berthelsdorf, his heart was still divided. He sometimes felt strongly moved at the religious meetings, or when pious conversation was going on; but he was not yet freed from the world; and the strict notions of the family at Hennersdorf precluded their regarding him as one of themselves. Hence he was left very much to dispose of his own time, and had ample leisure for study and meditation. A spiritual change was in progress. The Count, who loved him tenderly, was not anxious to hasten his conversion. He knew the sensitive character of his mind, and he simply endeavoured to encourage him in the course he was taking. But one evening, about a month after their arrival, observing that he seemed out of spirits,

he called him aside, and asked him about the state of his mind. Watteville confessed that his soul was in the most fearful chaos, and he was as wretched as a man could be.

"What is your idea of God?" Zinzendorf asked him. Watteville answered as well as he could, by enumerating the perfections of the Deity, but omitted all reference to God's love. Zinzendorf then spoke of God as the very essence of love; and selecting some hymns on the misery of man and the love of Jesus, he read some of them, and some he sang to him.

Watteville fell on his knees and cried to God to have mercy upon him, and to pronounce on his soul the mighty words, *Let there be light!* By degrees this light came; and we shall soon see this interesting young man consecrating himself entirely to the service of God, and drawing the bonds between himself and the Count closer than ever.

There were two others who shared this close friendship. One was the pastor Rothe, and the other Schaefer of Goerlitz, whom Rothe had brought with him. Schaefer was a faithful minister of Christ, and had suffered much in the cause of his Master. His sermons had been blessed, in former days, to Heitz; and it was through him that Christian David, the carpenter, had come to know both Rothe and Zinzendorf.

Rothe, Schaefer, Watteville, and Zinzendorf now formed one of those little intimate associations which the Count was so fond of, and which were entered into as the means of mutual strength and encouragement in the battle against the prince of darkness, and in efforts to extend the king-

dom of Christ. In this union with each other they preached the gospel; founded establishments intended to provide a Christian education for children; published and circulated useful and religious books; and sought to promote frequent intercourse between Christians of different countries by extensive travel, as well as by correspondence.

The four friends often held meetings for conference, and freely exchanged their thoughts on all that pertained to the objects they had in view. Rothe contributed to the interest of these occasions by his charming eloquence, his methodic mind, and his profound acquaintance with Scripture. Schaefer enlivened the discussions with his characteristic vivacity, his bold, enterprising spirit, his knowledge of the human heart, and his somewhat rough openness of manner. Young Watteville was valued for his mental clearness and accuracy, as well as his amiable and conciliatory disposition; for if ever there was any asperity to be smoothed down, or any misunderstanding to be set right, he was always appealed to. Zinzendorf, with his ardent love to the Saviour, and his talent for organisation, was the soul of the fraternity. In matters that were non-essential, he readily gave way to his friends; but when once he was convinced that his views on any vital point were founded on the Bible, nothing would induce him to abandon it. It occasionally happened that persons who were not members of that association attended its meetings without fully entering into their spirit, and thus started objections which led to unforeseen difficulties. If these objections were of a kind that the Count thought would bring injury on the cause of Christ, he would burst into tears, and some-

times he would retire alone, throw himself at the feet of the Saviour, and renew his vow to be faithful to Him, whoever might forsake Him.

Zinzendorf took the chief part in the correspondence, in travelling, and in the composition of popular writings. During the year 1723 he published a small catechism and two other religious works. The catechism was intended for little children, and hence it cost him very considerable labour to adapt it to their capacity. It was not, however, a work likely to yield him any reward in the way of public appreciation; ridicule was the only result he had to expect in that quarter. He might have avoided this by withholding his name; but his natural pride and his Christian humility united to forbid this, and in spite of the busy tongues that would not fail to pass plenty of merry jests on a nobleman who could spend his time in teaching infants, the book-hawkers soon appeared in the markets with a little 16mo volume, printed at Lobau, and bearing a title of which the following is a literal translation:—*The pure milk of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, or simple questions and answers, adapted to the understanding of little children, composed, with a desire to promote the glory of the Saviour, for the good of little children, and for the advantage of parents*, by Count LOUIS ZINZENDORF.

The Count also established a printing press, but the government having put difficulties in his way, he determined to transfer it to Ebersdorf, under the protection of Count Reuss. It continued there up to 1726, and sent forth some small productions of Franke's, the Psalms, the New Testament, and eventually the entire Bible. These

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books were sold at a low price, with a view to disseminate them as widely as possible among the people.

In addition to these special occupations, Zinzendorf took his part in the more direct work of evangelisation, and aided Rothe in his pastoral labours, in the capacity of deacon, as he had before desired to do. On Sunday, after the sermon and catechism, the pastor and his parishioners met in the church, and conversed on the subjects that had been treated in the pulpit; each one was permitted to express his own thoughts freely, and to state objections, or to ask for such explanations as he might require. This was followed by a prayer; after which the Count sang some hymns, one of his servants, Tobias Friedrich, who played with great taste and skill, accompanying him on the organ. These hymns were extemporaneous compositions, or rather inspirations; and the Brethren subsequently began to make a careful collection of them as they were produced, and incorporated a considerable number of them in their psalmody. In the afternoon the parishioners met at the castle, and the Count repeated the principal points of the sermon they had heard in the morning.

This quiet and regular mode of activity was naturally broken in upon now and then by unexpected circumstances, and was not unfrequently interrupted by the official duties that devolved on the Count at Dresden, and by his journeys; for he made it a matter of principle not to avoid the trouble and inconvenience of travelling when the occasion arose, but to turn it to account in the cause of evangelisation and of spiritual union.

In the month of March 1723, a sore trouble invaded the

little circle that Zinzendorf had thus gathered around him. A detachment of mounted gendarmes suddenly appeared, and carried off Frederick Watteville to prison, in Dresden, on a charge of having been concerned in a murder recently committed by a Swedish officer. A letter from Watteville had been found among the criminal's papers, and certain expressions it contained had been falsely interpreted, so as to bring suspicion upon their author. The Count found no difficulty in proving the entire innocence of his friend; but the mistake cost Watteville six weeks' imprisonment. Soon after this, Count Zinzendorf undertook a journey to Silesia, and another to Prague, at the time of the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI. as king of Bohemia. He was admitted to a private audience with the monarch, in which he seized the opportunity to speak freely and with warmth of the Saviour, and ventured respectfully to exhort the emperor to be "steadfast in a life of faith and prayer." Watteville, who accompanied the Count, speaks, in a letter addressed to his father at this time, of the great good he derived from Zinzendorf's influence and example amidst the temptations of Charles's court, and says, that while the Count was speaking in this way, "the emperor listened with his eyes shut, and with great attention." Emboldened by the favour the monarch had shown him, Zinzendorf ventured to ask his majesty a favour. It was not for himself or for the religious party he was connected with, but on behalf of the unfortunate remains of a heretical sect, opposed to the principles of the Reformation, that he thus risked his reputation at the court. In the midst of the theological agitation of the sixteenth century, a mystic of

Silesia, named Gaspard Schwenkfeld, had rejected the inspiration of the Scriptures, and propounded certain strange doctrines, which were condemned by the Lutheran doctors, Melancthon and Flacius Illyricus. His disciples, however, formed a little sect, in the eighteenth century, the members of which were known for their simple, quiet, and industrious mode of life. At the instigation of some Lutheran divines, the Catholic clergy obtained authority from the government to compel the Schwenkfeldians to abjure their errors. The Count having been informed by one of the ministers of the emperor that, as these people refused to submit, they would be obliged to leave the country, immediately addressed a petition to his "Imperial and Catholic Majesty," imploring a relaxation of the sentence, and boldly reminding the monarch that material means would never convert souls, but only tended to make hypocrites. Unhappily his intercession was in vain, and the persecution continued.

Zinzendorf found frequent occasions for the exercise of this spirit of toleration, and for active effort as the champion of religious liberty, even on the side of those whose views he did not approve. Two years after the circumstance above mentioned, while he was in Dresden, a woman died in that city, who was one of the followers of Gichtel, a sect that had separated from the communion of the Church, and sought to attain angelic perfection by maintaining celibacy, living exempt from all earthly care, and giving themselves up to contemplation and to various ascetic practices. The civil and ecclesiastical authorities joined in refusing her the rights of burial.

The Count forthwith appealed to Loescher, the superin-

tendent. "I am informed," he said, "that the body of this woman is to be thrown into the sewer, because she had withdrawn from the Church and sacraments, and that she is consequently regarded as excommunicated. I understand that she is not even to be allowed a coffin. I do not approve of separation, but I consider it a weakness that must be borne with on the score of good intention, and I have the utmost horror of the measures that have been adopted." He then proceeds to show that such a policy only tends to exasperate its victims, and so to augment the evil; he gives it as his conviction that a zeal so opposed to charity, and to the Spirit of God, will infallibly bring down the judgments of heaven; and he calls upon the superintendent, if he has a spark of the love of Jesus in his heart, to interpose in defeat of this iniquitous proceeding, and to see that proper justice is done; and he finally declares that if his request is refused, he will take up the matter as a personal affair, though he does not even know the poor woman's name, and will go to higher quarters for permission to bury her honourably. "As for myself," he adds, "I would far rather be thrown into a ditch when I am dead than act against my conscience. In such a case, the more ignominious the burial the greater the glory, and infamy becomes a triumph."

Soon after his return from Silesia, the Count again left for Dresden, where he passed the whole winter, leaving his estates in the charge of his friend Watteville, who had become specially interested in the Moravian emigrants. Their number kept increasing, and three new dwellings rose beside the first. Zinzendorf and his friends had also

determined to erect a large house at Herrnhut, at their own expense, as an educational institution; and this was what afterwards became the *Common House*.

Baron Watteville remained in Lusatia, but did not continue to reside either at Hennersdorf or Berthelsdorf. Though a man of the world by education, and accustomed to all the elegancies of refined life, he had ceased to feel any attraction for the society of the great. He liked to be alone, or to mingle with people of the humble class; and he took up his abode in a small room in one of the houses on the Hutberg. One morning he was awoke before dawn by hearing the voices of the other inmates of the house, in their several rooms, offering up thanksgiving and prayer before they went to their daily work. The partitions were thin, and Watteville listened to every word of their fervent pleading with intense emotion, till his own heart was moved to earnest prayer; after which he went to the workshop where he was accustomed to find his friend Christian David, and, sitting down on a log of wood, gave himself up to deep thought.

The whole of his life passed in review before him. He recalled the train of circumstances that had conspired, without any intervention of his own, to cast his lot among these strangers, and the result was a firm resolve to consecrate himself entirely to the work with which he had been thus providentially identified.

In the midst of these reflections, in which he had been so absorbed as not to notice what was going on around him, he was roused by the voice of the carpenter, who had just finished his task—"There," he said, "I have

now got everything ready to lay the first stone of the new house."

"And I am ready, too," replied Watteville.

That same evening, the first stone was solemnly laid. The Count and Countess, who had just returned from Dresden, were present with their friends from Hennersdorf, and the Count gave an address on the objects for which the house was about to be built. "If this house," he said, "is not to promote the glory of God—the only end for which we propose to build it—may God pour down fire from heaven, and so destroy it."

This was the all-important crisis in Watteville's history. The feelings awakened in the morning were still dominant, and he had hidden under the stone his rings, jewellery, and in fact everything that was likely to remind him of the worldly life he had now resolved for ever to renounce. When the Count had finished his discourse, Watteville knelt down on this stone, and poured out his heart in a fervent prayer, giving free utterance to all his resolutions, desires, and hopes, and melting the hearts of all the beholders. Zinzendorf often said that he never witnessed anything like this affecting scene, and he dated to this prayer the rich effusion of divine grace that was soon afterwards experienced at Herrnhut.

"You have promised much," said the Countess to Watteville; "if you only fulfil half of it, you will far exceed our expectations."

On the day that this ceremony took place—the 12th of March 1724—a fresh party of emigrants had arrived at Herrnhut. The religious awakening that had commenced,

under the influence of Christian David, continued to make sensible progress; two entire villages among others were moved by the breath of the Holy Spirit. Despite the rigorous measures of the Government, people crowded together for prayer and the reading of the Scriptures wherever they could find a secret place. Whenever these meetings were discovered, they were dispersed by force. The delinquents were thrown into prison, and threatened with still greater punishments if they should repeat the offence, and, worse than all, emigration was forbidden. Willing or not willing, every one was bound to remain in the country, and to profess the Catholic religion.

Five young men, belonging to a place called Zauchtenthal, having been prosecuted several times by the tribunals for carrying on their worship, resolved to fly and to seek liberty of conscience in some other land. One night they escaped, and crossed the mountain that shut in their native village, in the direction of Lusatia. It was their intention to try and reach Poland or Holland, and there to join some small community of Moravians; but they were anxious to take Herrnhut in their way, to see Christian David and their other fellow-countrymen who had settled around him.

Their first impression of Herrnhut was not very favourable. They had pictured to themselves something superior, and they could not but pity the poor colonists who had to struggle so hard for a living, and often wanted the common necessities of life; for the assistance furnished by the Count went but a little way amongst such a large number of the needy. The reception given them by Zinzendorf was not quite so cordial as they anticipated, after all that they had

heard about him ; and hence, although the offer was made them to remain at Herrnhut, they still adhered to their previous plan.

But it so happened that they were present at the ceremony we have just described, and there the sight of the assembled worshippers, the earnest words of the Count, Watteville's prayer, and, above all, the invisible influence of the Spirit of God, who hovered over the assembly, laid such powerful hold on their hearts, as to banish all thought of further wanderings ; and they were glad to find rest in a place that seemed so fraught with heavenly benediction.

Among the new comers was one David Nitschmann, a carpenter like Christian David, but in after years the first bishop of the new *Church of the Brethren*. The addition thus made to the rising colony at Herrnhut soon became an important element in its after-history.

From the foundation of the settlement considerable differences of opinion had naturally sprung up, and among other points, on the rite of the Holy Supper. The Lutheran and Reformed views being mutually opposed, neither Zinzendorf nor Rothe had succeeded in solving this difficulty. But the conciliatory spirit and the persuasive eloquence of Watteville had at last established a friendly understanding between the advocates of the two opposite systems. Heitz, who was the most inflexible partisan of the Reformed sentiments, left the service of the Count. His departure appeared favourable to the reconciliation of the two parties. But there were other elements of discord. All sorts of odd notions and individual crotchets were set up ; and each one obstinately adhered to his own ideas.

This was not surprising; for most of those who constituted this peculiar fraternity had suffered for their faith; persecution had habituated them to distrust; and liberty, in their case, meant resistance. Accustomed to be treated as rebels, they had learnt to rebel, and although the authority of Count Zinzendorf, and Rothe their pastor, was exercised in a kind and fraternal spirit, it was looked upon with suspicion.

Such were the first inhabitants of Herrnhut—men of sincere piety, and actuated by good motives; but extremely ignorant, and so obstinate and unconfiding, that it was very difficult to teach them.

The five strangers from Zauchtenthal had descended directly from the ancient Moravian Brethren, and had kept their traditions unchanged. The history of their ancestors still lived in their memory, and many of their ancient hymns they knew by heart. When they left their native land, it was to find some community of their own Church. They soon perceived that Herrnhut was not organised on the principles held by their fathers, and they put in an earnest plea for the establishment of the order and discipline of the true Moravian Church. But no one knew what this was; and Rothe and Zinzendorf, both of whom were in utter ignorance of the ancient constitution of this Church, tried to prevail upon them to relinquish these plans of organisation. But they were not to be diverted from their object, and only urged it with the greater determination. Seeing, however, that Zinzendorf did not enter into their views, they began to suspect his intentions, and were several times on the point of leaving the settlement.

It is easy to imagine how trying these contentions must have been to the Count. With all his desire for union among Christians at large, he could not preserve it in the hearts of those around him! He often felt discouraged, and regretted having given the Moravian emigrants such free access to his dominions. He could have wished to stay the tide of immigration, but his charity always prevailed over his judgment, and it was not in his heart to refuse his succour to any who claimed it. Hence he found himself surrounded, as he had been at Dresden, by a motley crowd of people, without any distinct confession, representing all sorts of wild conceits, and full of spiritual pride. Even the Schwenkfeldians, on whose behalf the Count had interceded in vain, and who had been forced to quit Silesia, found an asylum under his protection. The liberal spirit he manifested towards people of this kind, and the protection he gave them, brought upon him the charge of being himself a dangerous innovator, and of favouring heresy. His friends were alarmed, and the venerable Franke wrote to him from Halle, in a fraternal spirit, urging him to act with prudence, and not to allow himself to be turned away from the simplicity of the faith.

"I could easily have found means," says Zinzendorf, "to rid myself of many of these people who gave me so much trouble; but I was restrained from this by two important lessons which the Saviour taught me;—first, that we ought to show a wise forbearance towards error, even when we know the enemy has sown it in the soul; and secondly, that there are trees in the garden of the Lord that must be left another year, and that if, at the end of that time, they bear

ever so little fruit, they afford some ground of hope. The happy success that has attended many experiments of this kind encourages me thus to act." . . . "I have never repented," he adds, "taking under my protection people who are persecuted or in error. On the contrary, I have been sorry that I allowed myself to be influenced by the violent opposition that was raised, and to refuse my protection to certain heretics who have, in consequence of that refusal, proved very troublesome to the evangelical divines; whereas, if I had followed the example of God, my heavenly Father, and had taken them on my hands, I should have had nothing to regret in the end. If I had failed as to their salvation, I should at least have found such occupation for them, that they would have injured no one but themselves."

Zinzendorf succeeded, by the kindly and prudent course he took, in maintaining peace among all the discordant elements. The Moravians were so far yielded to, that auricular confession, which had been introduced by Rothe, was suppressed, and some who had been estranged were brought back to the communion of the Church. But many disturbing elements still existed; and up to the year 1727, the Count and his friends were chiefly engaged in endeavouring to create a true spiritual union.

In the midst of these affairs Zinzendorf kept his eye closely on the one thing needful—the conversion and spiritual advancement of those whom God had committed to his care. Religious meetings became more and more frequent, and on Sunday there was a succession of them from six in the morning till midnight. Most of those who came from Hennersdorf to attend them stayed the whole day, and

brought a crust of bread in their pockets instead of dinner. The attendance was always perfectly voluntary, for the Count hated anything like compulsion in such matters; and if any of his servants absented themselves a whole Sunday from these gatherings, he never took the slightest notice of the circumstance. On Fridays there was a little meeting for fellowship, which was only open to those who gave evidence that they sincerely loved the Saviour.

The education of youth was, as we have seen, another means of evangelisation, to which Zinzendorf and his friends attached great importance. Three schools were soon established at Berthelsdorf and at Herrnhut. Two of them were specially intended for poor children—one for boys and the other for girls. The third was a college for young men of noble rank.

These institutions were very similar in their origin to those at Halle; and when Zinzendorf visited that city in 1724, he was received by Anton, Franke, and others, with expressions of the liveliest sympathy; though Franke did not conceal his fears on learning the unsettled and confused character of the new company.

From Halle the Count repaired to Ebersdorf, where his faith and submission were soon to undergo a fresh trial. His first-born sickened of a fever, and he and his wife knelt by the cradle watching the spark of life that had just been kindled, and waiting to see it expire. They were enabled, however, to act in the spirit of perfect resignation, and to commit their treasure to God, asking Him to accept the offering at their hands. The child died while they were in prayer.

CHAPTER VIII.

ZINZENDORF RETIRES FROM COURT.

From this time the Count steadily refused all dignities, and sought to separate himself as much as possible from the world. He plainly averred that rank was not an ordinance of God, but the offspring of human pride. "I find something to respect," he said, "in everybody; and I do not see why I should not receive every child of God at my table, even if he be but a poor beggar." "When once you are a Christian," he observes in one of his essays, "you are neither prince, count, knight, nor noble; a truly noble mind sees nothing but vanity and absurdity in all that. Not that rank should be utterly abolished; for a title may be of service to a Christian. But a Christian nobleman will use his title in all humility, and will regard it as a burden only belonging to bad times."

The writings of Zinzendorf followed each other in rapid succession. After the small catechism to which we have referred, he published, in the course of a single year, (1725,) a large catechism on the plan of Luther's; a paraphrase, in verse, of the last discourses of Jesus before His crucifixion, (John xiv.-xvii. ;) the French translation of Arndt's work on *True Christianity*, which he dedicated to Cardinal Noailles; a collection of hymns for the parish of Ber-

thelsdorf; a portion of the catechism of Loescher; and a weekly review, entitled the *Dresden Socrates*, which was continued through the following year, and reprinted in 1732 under the name of the *German Socrates*. According to his own account, the object of this last publication was to do for his fellow-citizens what Socrates did for the Athenians. He wanted to lead them to reflect on their own condition, and to show them, by his own example, the true way of happiness. And then, he said he wished to persuade them either to become true Christians, or at any rate not to profess to be so till they really were so.

The *Dresden Socrates* was anonymous, and it differed in one respect from the other productions of Zinzendorf. It frequently contained spirited criticisms on the government and the clergy; but some years afterwards, Zinzendorf stated that this vein of censure did not suit his taste, and, though he had thought it useful in exposing abuses and tearing off the mask of hypocrisy, he soon abandoned it.

While prosecuting these quiet labours the Count had to contend with fresh difficulties, which threatened the very existence of the colony at Herrnhut. The tide of emigration continued to flow from Moravia, and the imperial government sought to arrest it by confiscating the property of the emigrants, and imprisoning every one they could seize, the greatest severity being shown towards those who induced others to fly. Zinzendorf felt the delicate position in which he was placed. It was but natural to expect that he would be looked upon as seeking to people his dominions

at the expense of the states of the emperor, and he felt some fear that by sheltering the Moravian refugees he might become the abettor of political agitation. Accordingly he took great pains to ascertain the motives of every emigrant that arrived. He welcomed all who appeared to be influenced by conscientious motives, and readily gave them permission to remain at Herrnhut. But, if he found that any of them had left their native land for other reasons, he would give them a hospitable reception for a few days, and then, having furnished them with letters of recommendation and what money they needed for their journey, he would urge them at once to return. He was anxious to prevent Moravians who had settled at Herrnhut from visiting their own country for the purpose of inducing others to emigrate. But if any one felt constrained, in spite of his persuasions to the contrary, to brave the perils of the way for the sake of his brethren, the Count felt it due to the rights of conscience that he should refrain from interposing his authority in the matter.

Thus Christian David continued travelling over Bohemia and Moravia in opposition to Zinzendorf's advice. And David Nitschmann,* another inhabitant of Herrnhut, started in disguise to visit his father in Moravia, but was recog-

* He is styled David Nitschmann, *the martyr*, in the histories of the *Church of the Brethren*, to distinguish him from four others of the same name. Three arrived at Herrnhut on the 12th of May 1724:—David Nitschmann, the carpenter, who afterwards became bishop; David Nitschmann, the weaver; and this David Nitschmann, the martyr. Two others settled there subsequently—one a cobbler, and the other a wheelwright. The latter was the father of Anna Nitschmann, of whom we shall have to speak hereafter, and the great-grandfather of J. M. Nitschmann, the president of the conference of the United Brethren, who died in 1862.

nised, arrested, and conducted to Kremsir, where he was thrown into prison.

On hearing this Zinzendorf set out for Kremsir, in the hope that he might obtain Nitschmann's pardon, or at least get permission to see him, and to render him some assistance.

On reaching his destination he presented himself to Cardinal Schrattenbach, prince-bishop of Olmutz, and to the cardinal's son, who was one of the ministers of state. He was received with great courtesy, and permitted to give a full explanation of his motives in affording an asylum to the emigrants. He stated that the imprisonment of Nitschmann appeared to him illegal, and that he thought the only way to stop the tide of emigration would be to allow every one perfect freedom of conscience. In reply to these representations he was informed that neither the emperor nor the pope himself had the power to make concessions contrary to the principle of ecclesiastical unity; that the mere fact of a handful of poor people having emigrated might be passed by without serious notice, and that the Government did not wish to find fault with any one for giving them shelter; but that severe measures would be taken against all those who sought to draw others away contrary to the will of the emperor. As to the imprisonment of Nitschmann, the authorities denied all knowledge of the matter. One of the Count's companions, however, went to the prison, and finding that Nitschmann was there, begged that the Count might be permitted to see him, or that the prisoner might be informed of the fact that Zinzendorf had interceded for him, and had sought admission

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to his cell. These requests were not complied with, but the officials promised that the pecuniary supplies sent by his friend should be duly conveyed to him. Nitschmann fell a victim to the cruel treatment he endured, and died in prison after three years of captivity.

Though disappointed at the result of this effort, the Count felt convinced that it was of no use to take any further proceedings, as they would only tend to provoke the Imperial Government, and accordingly he returned to Lusatia, making the best of every opportunity by the way, to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. During this short journey from Kremsir to Berthelsdorf he delivered more than twenty public discourses on religious subjects.

The *Ebersdorf Bible* was the next thing that engaged the Count's special attention. It will be remembered that the printing press first established in his dominions had been removed to Ebersdorf in consequence of the jealousy of the Government. The chief object in the publication of this new edition of the Bible was to offer the Sacred Books at a price that would make them generally accessible. It was Luther's version, with the Reformer's introductions to the Old and New Testaments, the *Informatorium Biblicum* of J. Arndt, and parallel passages. Rothe added, by way of supplement, a new translation of various passages, and Zinzendorf composed the preface and the summaries of the chapters. These summaries, which are fuller than usual, are written in a clear, vigorous style, and form a kind of running commentary.

The Ebersdorf Bible caused great offence, and Zinzendorf was blamed for Rothe's rashness in daring to translate

such and such a passage better than it had been done before him. True, this was not the first time that certain parts of Luther's version had been called in question ; but before the schools had come to any decision on the matter, it was taken out of their hands, to be decided in an edition of the Scriptures which was destined to outvie every other in its popularity.

A pamphlet published in Dresden, with a view to point out the dangerous character of the Moravian Bible, caused some sensation, because it was supposed to come from high quarters. Zinzendorf did not care to enter upon an interminable controversy, but contented himself with a short article in his journal. But this was quite enough to rouse the fears of the Government. The Chancellor sent for him, and begged him to refrain from further argument, promising that the pamphlet against him should be entirely suppressed. Zinzendorf unhesitatingly complied with the first part of the proposal, but refused the second. He said that, so far from wishing the pamphlet suppressed, he would assist in spreading it abroad ; and he actually gave away a copy of it with every Bible he sold, leaving the public to judge between him and his opponents. The pamphlet, as might be expected, defeated its own end. But while the Ebersdorf Bible was successful, fresh troubles soon arose at Herrnhut. A magistrate named Krüger, from the district of Voightland in Saxony, had exposed himself to the sentence of excommunication from the Church by his heterodox opinions on the subject of the Lord's Supper. At length he entirely rejected the sacrament. On being compelled to resign his office, he determined to seek a refuge at

Herrnhut, and wrote to Zinzendorf to that effect. Although Zinzendorf had no sympathy whatever with his opinions, and plainly told him so, he was unwilling to refuse him the rights of hospitality. The superior knowledge and business habits of Krüger, conjoined with great energy of character and an air of special sanctity, soon enabled him to acquire considerable influence in the colony—an influence which was unhappily employed in the revival of the old feuds. All sorts of heresies began to make their appearance, and among the rest of the schismatics, some denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and others His humanity. Rothe laboured with all his might to counteract these disturbing elements. Zinzendorf was specially careful not to exert any authority in the matter, and confined himself simply to fraternal expostulations with Krüger, although Krüger did everything he could to bring on an open war with the Count, and so to gain the honours of persecution. Having tried in vain to provoke Zinzendorf to anger, he at length became the slave of spiritual pride, and finally sank into a state of mental derangement. Every care was taken of him at Herrnhut, till he could be removed to an asylum in Berlin, on leaving which he became hopelessly insane, and after wandering about for some time, at last died in great misery.

The disturbances thus created continued to bear fruit, and even Christian David the carpenter, who had founded the community, became the leader of a fanatical sect. The Moravian Brethren, with a very few exceptions, separated from the church at Berthelsdorf, and did not hesitate to speak of the Count in the most hostile terms. They even

called him the Beast of the Apocalypse who gave the false prophet power to seduce men,—the false prophet being Rothe. Those, on the other hand, who remained in connexion with the church, blamed the Count for the mildness of his bearing towards their opponents; and thus the harshest and most undeserved censure was poured upon him from all sides. The state of affairs soon became noised abroad, and Zinzendorf was condemned by those who looked on from a distance for harbouring a nest of heresy. Instead, however, of giving way to discouragement, he set to work to sustain those whose faith was beginning to fail, telling them they were just at the juncture when the grain of corn dies in the earth; but the spring would soon follow, and they would see it shooting up and blooming and bearing fruit. It was thus that he sought to animate the hearts of those around him with patience and courage, while he bore the brunt of the mischief that others had made, and waited hopefully in the conviction that God would make all things work together for good.

Difficulties of another kind awaited him in Dresden. The opposition excited by the *German Socrates* had extended to that city, and a rescript had been procured from the emperor prohibiting the religious meeting that he had been accustomed to hold in his house. Zinzendorf now felt more than ever the necessity of resigning his public appointment. The division of his thoughts and energies between Dresden and Berthelsdorf involved more labour and anxiety than one man could well sustain; and the little community, that at first numbered only two or three families, having grown in the course of five years to a

village with three hundred inhabitants, partly from Moravia and partly from other lands, now required all his time and strength. He had undertaken his duties at court contrary to his own tastes, and purely out of obedience to the wishes of his family. But his grandmother had recently died ; and, after repeated and urgent entreaties, he obtained his mother's consent to his retirement. At the instance of his friends he at first contented himself with asking leave of absence for a time. But a few years afterwards, in 1731, he applied for his final dismissal, and it was granted.

CHAPTER IX.

HOME WORK.

ZINZENDORF now devoted himself entirely to the temporal and spiritual welfare of the inhabitants of the new colony. He entrusted the management of his property to his wife and to Henry Watteville; and after a time, finding that the daily journey backwards and forwards to Herrnhut occupied too much time, he moved from his own mansion to an empty wing of the *Great House*.

Unfortunately he and Rothe were not quite of the same mind as to the way in which the infirmities and errors of the people should be dealt with. Zinzendorf represented the principle of liberty, and considered that the only way to bring them back to the simplicity of the gospel was to teach them patiently and affectionately, never overstepping the bounds of that brotherly love which they had a right to expect. Rothe believed in authority, and was disposed to be dogmatic and exclusive. Hence it was difficult to avoid collision, and Zinzendorf frankly communicated to Rothe his fears lest their frequent differences of opinion should tend to neutralise the effect of their labours; and they agreed that Zinzendorf should give his whole attention to Herrnhut in the capacity of lay assistant to the

pastor. The people of the parish were then called together and informed of the arrangement, with the reasons that had led to its adoption.

Zinzendorf soon succeeded in restoring fraternal communion among those who had been alienated from the church and from each other. But although the Moravians ceased to manifest the same sectarian spirit as before, they renewed their plea for the re-establishment of the ancient constitution of their church. They would not hear a word to the contrary; and they plainly told the Count that nothing would induce them to change their purpose. They said it was well known that an organisation of this kind was just what was wanted in all other churches, and that Luther himself acknowledged the advantages enjoyed by the Brethren in this respect. And they went so far as to state that they had resolved, if their request were refused, to withdraw from the evangelical church, though it would be with regret, and, if necessary, to leave Herrnhut, and seek a home elsewhere.

Zinzendorf plainly saw the difficulties that would arise if he yielded to their desire; but this did not restrain him from giving their proposals a thoroughly impartial consideration. He consulted a number of friends, and carefully studied the *History of the Brethren*, by Comenius, in order to form a just estimate of the organisation called for. "As I was closing the book," he says, "my eyes rested on the touching passage in which the author mourns over the desolation of the church, whose history he has pourtrayed: 'Turn thou us,' he cries, 'unto thee, O Lord, and we

shall be turned: renew our days as of old,' (Lam. v. 21.) Before I had time to read these lines again my resolution was taken, and I said to myself, Yes, I will do my utmost for it! I will risk all I have to bring it about. This little flock, which belongs to the Lord, shall be preserved as long as I live, and as far as my influence goes, after I am gone, till He comes."

Zinzendorf immediately set to work, with the assistance of Rothe and some of the principal inhabitants of Herrnhut, and drew up a certain number of laws, founded upon the practice of the apostolic churches, and in accordance with the ancient constitution of the Church of the Brethren, so far as it was adapted to meet the present need of the little community under his care. This being done, the whole of the inhabitants of Herrnhut were invited to meet, and he laid the case fully before them. He concluded an address of three hours, delivered with deep feeling, by reading the proposed statutes. The first ran as follows:—*The members of the community of Herrnhut are bound to exercise constant love to all their brethren—the children of God of every religion: they must not pass judgment, nor utter a hasty word against those who differ from them, but watch over themselves so far as to maintain the purity of the gospel and the simplicity of grace.*

The statutes were unanimously accepted. They were signed by all present, and each one promised to conform to them. There was a general expression of sorrow for the idle disputes in which they had indulged, and they all declared their purpose henceforward to cultivate meekness,

and to seek the guidance of the Holy Spirit in all things. In fact, every heart was subdued by the gracious effusion of heavenly influence that rested on the assembly.

“That day,” said Zinzendorf, twenty years afterwards, “was to determine the question whether Herrnhut would embrace the true idea of the Church of the Saviour and humbly take its place therein, or whether it would choose to be nothing but a new sect set up by the will of man. The power of the Holy Spirit decided it. What the Saviour did for us towards the end of that year, no one can tell. Herrnhut was like a tabernacle for God.”

The scene above described occurred on the 12th of May 1727, exactly three years after the foundation-stone of the Common House was laid; and the feelings awakened on that memorable occasion seem to have been revived in all their power and freshness.

The practical spirit of Zinzendorf soon infected the whole of the community, and on the day the new statutes were passed twelve *elders* were chosen, whose duty it was to see that they were carried out. The Count was elected as *Vorsteher*, or president; Watteville was associated with him as his assistant, and four others were chosen by lot to constitute a committee of directors under his superintendence. The meetings of this committee for deliberation were called *Conferences of the Elders*. The first thing they did was to seek the presence of God, who alone could give them the light they needed to guide them in difficult questions; and when once they felt conscious of that presence, they never separated till a decision was arrived at.

If after mature consideration they could not clearly perceive the will of God, they referred the matter to His hands by the use of the lot.

The practice of appealing to the lot, to which Zinzendorf frequently had recourse from this time, although in striking harmony with his childlike faith, did not originate with him. It was a usage of the ancient Moravian Church, derived from the example of the apostles. It was, however, only adopted by Zinzendorf and the new church in a negative mode, the *veto* being thus reserved for the Lord. Different opinions are likely to be entertained as to a proceeding of this kind; but it is important to observe that in the case of the Moravians the custom did not imply that they undervalued human reason, but simply that they acknowledged its true limits. It was not chance that they consulted. They sought to know the will of the Lord through this medium, founding their practice on the words, (Prov. xvi. 33,) "The lot is cast into the lap; but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord."

The revival now continued to develop itself in fresh forms of activity, with a view to promote closer communion and more fervent piety. One Sunday, for example, Rothe and other preachers had delivered discourses simultaneously to three or four different congregations in Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf, on the subject in the gospel for the day—viz., the visit of the holy virgin to Elizabeth; in the course of which they pointed out the advantages likely to result supposing that two Christian friends united together for spiritual fellowship with each other and the

Saviour. The impression produced by these sermons on the large audiences that listened to them awakened a general desire to carry out the suggestion made; and several little associations were formed, consisting of two, three, or four individuals, who agreed to meet for the purpose of mutual confession, exhortation, and united prayer. In fact, a week had scarcely elapsed before the whole parish became thus divided into what were called *bands*, consisting always of persons of the same sex, assorted according to their spiritual character and attainments. These bands, however, were not perpetual. The heads of the community sometimes re-arranged them; so that instead of tending to break up the church into small subdivisions, they strengthened its unity, by bringing every one of its members in succession into intimate fellowship with a certain number of others; or if at any time they seemed to have lost their good effect, they were suppressed; and others were formed when the want became felt. This institution exerted an immense influence; and Zinzendorf said that without it the community of Herrnhut could never have become what it was.

Another important institution was that of *choirs*. Although it was of somewhat later date, and developed itself by degrees, it may be mentioned here, on account of its close connexion with the *bands*. The *choirs* were associations of persons of similar external circumstances. There was a choir of married men, and another of bachelors; one of boys, one of little children, one of widows, one of married women, one of unmarried women, one of little girls, &c. In each of these groups certain members were

appointed as *ouvriers*, or workers, who formed a kind of special ministry. Each choir had its own meetings and feast-days.

One object carefully kept in view was the avoidance of all unnecessary ornament in dress. Among other things, jewellery, lace, parasols, and fans were forbidden. The bonnets worn by the sisters were usually white straw, with plain ribbon, the colour of which formed the distinction of the choir. White was worn by the widows; blue by the married women; rose colour by the unmarried; and red by girls from fourteen to eighteen years of age.

The male choirs were not distinguished by any badges; but they all wore very simple clothing, generally gray or brown. Mourning was never worn, as it was thought that death, or "returning to one's native land," as Zinzendorf called it, was not a proper subject for sorrow.

Then a night-watch was instituted, at which all the males from sixteen to sixty years of age took their turn; each hour being announced by singing a verse of a hymn calculated to suggest holy thoughts to those who might be lying awake. In addition to these, some of the brethren and sisters established a system of continual prayer. They divided the twenty-four hours of the day and night among themselves, and agreed, each in succession, to devote an hour to retirement and prayer. The whole Church of Christ was prayed for; and every member of the community at Herrnhut was made the subject of particular intercession. At a subsequent period, it became the rule to offer petitions for the different communities of the Brethren, for each of the various choirs, for the mis-

sionaries, the ministers, the evangelists, the authorities of the country, and for all mankind. These were the watchers on the walls of Jerusalem, that held not their peace day nor night.*

These institutions, although put into a regular form by Zinzendorf, were for the most part the spontaneous product of the new life that permeated the whole community. In fact, the period of their origin was a season of grace given to the Church of the Brethren, after a time of trouble, to prepare them for fresh conflict.

The 13th of August 1727 was a memorable day of blessing. The members had been convened in the parish church at Berthelsdorf for the observance of the Holy Supper; and as the service proceeded the whole assembly became powerfully affected by the Divine presence. A pentecostal scene resulted. One and all renewed their vows to the Saviour, and declared their readiness to risk their lives in His service, and to go anywhere, or to undertake any duty, at His command. "In a word," says David Nitschmann, "we were transported out of ourselves, and, young and old, all began a new, and I may say, a heavenly life."

In the midst of this universal enthusiasm, Zinzendorf felt the necessity of labouring more than ever to maintain purity of doctrine, and to preserve his brethren from losing the simplicity of their faith. Hence he attached the utmost importance to the preaching of the gospel. In one of his writings, addressed to a theologian, during this year, and entitled, *Considerations on the Duty of a Preacher*, he

* Isaiah lxii. 6.

thus expresses his views of that sacred function :—" I will tell you very simply how the matter would appear to me if I had to preach. I lay it down as the first principle, that the soul ought to be exclusively occupied with the things of God ; that the heart should always be full enough for the mouth to speak out of the abundance of the heart ; and that the good God has promised His children that it shall not be they who speak, but the Spirit of their Father ; and it shall be given them in the same hour what they are to speak. Further, I would never begin to speak without first having directed my thoughts to my own misery and weakness, and to the depth of human misery generally, and the unfathomable love of God in Christ. This tends to keep us from speaking according to our own wisdom, and makes us glad to have to proclaim reconciliation. As to the subject of discourse, it should be the *mystery of redemption* by Christ, and the *mystery of salvation*. And it should ever be remembered that the hearers are not so much moved by arguments as by the feeling the speaker manifests."

Zinzendorf never attempted the exposition of difficult passages, believing that this required a special gift. He confined himself to the enforcement of known and admitted truths, and said that he always succeeded best in this way. While distinguishing between theological principles that were 'undoubtedly true, such as were only probable, and others that were merely corollaries from either of these classes, he was extremely jealous of the smallest error. But he thought that, with the grace of God, and while adhering to essential and fundamental truths, and to what

is confirmed by the clear and repeated declarations of Scripture, it was not so difficult as might be supposed to keep clear of mistakes in minor things.

Zinzendorf not only spoke at the ordinary "meetings for edification," but embraced every opportunity afforded by special occasions for exhibiting the way of salvation. When Rothe administered the Lutheran rite of baptism, or performed the ceremony of marriage or burial, the Count generally added a few words by way of impressing those present with the solemnity of the service they had engaged in, and calling their attention to the duties incumbent on them. Sometimes he read a portion of Scripture, or an extract from a religious work, and sometimes a letter containing interesting intelligence in reference to the kingdom of God at large. On one occasion, during the year of which we are writing, he read a brief résumé of the history of the Brethren in Bohemia, Poland, and Moravia, from the work of Comenius. He had a great talent for reading, and his clearness and force of expression invested even commonplace facts with a peculiar charm.

Singing was another of the means of religious improvement to which he attached great importance, and, with the assistance of his secretary, Tobias Frederick, who was a good musician, he organised meetings for psalmody. His stock of hymns, which he could at any time recall, was as wonderful as his power of extemporaneous composition. Sometimes he would sing a number of verses taken from various hymns, and interspersed with others, composed at

the moment, thus producing a kind of lyric discourse—an echo to the voice of the Hebrew prophets—which seems to have produced a profound impression.

The meetings were becoming more and more frequent. Those who lived at a distance from Herrnhut sometimes brought their food with them, and eat it together ; and at other times the Count supplied them with what was necessary. This was the origin of what were called *Agapes*, or love-feasts.

While this spiritual work was in progress, the Count did not overlook the general interests of the population that continued to increase around him. He entrusted the magisterial functions to an official representative at Berthelsdorf ; but all differences arising between the members of the church were decided by appeal to the *Tribunal de Commune*, a court of judges appointed for the purpose by the Brethren from their own number. Others were chosen to distribute alms ; others to take charge of the sick ; and others again to provide occupation for such as needed it, and to see that the work was properly done and fairly remunerated. Besides these special officers there were *inspectors*, whose duty it was to keep their eye on all that passed in the community, and to report any instances of disorderly conduct to the *censors*, who then expostulated with the offender in a fraternal spirit, and so sought to arrest the evil. The influence that Zinzendorf exerted over the working of this system, so as to prevent it from degenerating into despotism or formalism, was a remarkable proof of his consummate wisdom ; and it showed that

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"a greater than Solomon" was there. THE LIFE is "the light of men."*

Another object of constant solicitude to the Count was the education of children. The college for young noblemen was converted into a house for orphans, to which he devoted a great deal of time and strength. His chief object in addressing the children was to impress their hearts with the simple truths of the gospel, and especially with the facts of the Saviour's life and death. He was at times greatly discouraged at the apparent fruitlessness of his efforts; but he laboured and prayed so much the more earnestly, and his prayers were heard. He had the joy of witnessing a spiritual movement among the children in Herrnhut; and they were often to be seen wending their way, in little companies, to some of the retired spots on the sides of the Hutberg, to hold their meetings for prayer, when the Count would follow at some distance, and keep guard, to prevent any one from intruding on their privacy. When their service was over he would join them as they returned, and, as the happy band wound down the slopes of the hill, his rich voice might be heard, mingling with the sweet notes of the little ones, in the praises of God.

"The greatest punishment for a child," he observes somewhere, "should be to lose the privilege of taking part in prayer, singing, and religious meetings, or even to have no lessons, and in some cases *not to be punished*."

It is difficult to convey any idea of the prodigious activity of Zinzendorf at this period. In addition to the labours we

* John i. 4.

have described, and the general oversight of the community, he found time to instruct the members of each choir as to the duties pertaining to their position ; and he held special conferences with the different classes of church officers, who all came to him in turn to receive his sympathy and advice. At other times he gathered round him some of the brethren and sisters who were more advanced than the rest, and read and explained to them some of the works of Sauler, a mystical preacher of the fourteenth century, whose teachings he then highly valued, though he soon afterwards abandoned his writings, because they spoke too little about Jesus Christ. In addition to all these occupations, Zinzendorf gave some of the young people lessons in writing, geography, and ecclesiastical history.

The inhabitants of Herrnhut met for worship every morning, at four o'clock in summer and five in winter. The Count did not usually join in this exercise, as his studies frequently kept him at work far into the night. But he conducted his own family worship at six o'clock. The day ended with a general meeting for psalmody, at the close of which Zinzendorf read a passage of Scripture or a verse of a hymn, adding a few reflections, and leaving it for the hearers to think about on the morrow. This was called the *word of command*, and it was found exceedingly useful as supplying all the members of the community with one subject for meditation, and bringing them all under the influence of some one promise or precept. These mottoes were subsequently printed and distributed among the brethren, and the custom has been perpetuated to the present day.

The year 1728 witnessed an extension of the system at Herrnhut to Berthelsdorf, the inhabitants of the latter place having spontaneously expressed their desire to adopt the statutes which had borne such good fruit in the neighbouring colony. And thus the Count was permitted to realise even more than he had anticipated, in the complete re-establishment of union among the Moravian Brethren.

CHAPTER X.

OPPOSITION.

ZINZENDORF'S home occupations were frequently interrupted by journeys to distant places, in the course of which he pursued his invariable plan of preaching wherever he could find an opportunity. His example was now followed by some of the Brethren at Herrnhut, who went forth, having been commended to God in prayer, two or three together, sometimes for a special purpose, and sometimes with no definite object in view, beyond the desire to do something for the Lord. Four of these journeys, called *messages*, took place in the year 1727. The first was undertaken, at Zinzendorf's request, by John and David Nitschmann, in consequence of a wish expressed by Prince Charles of Denmark to know something of Herrnhut and the new Moravian Church. Another deputation visited England the year following, for a similar purpose; and a third was sent to Jena, with a view to induce Dr Buddæus, who had translated the *History of the Brethren*, by Comenius, into Latin, to prepare a translation in the German language. The Count had spent a short time at Jena on his last journey, and the deep impression then produced had not been forgotten. The messengers, who now arrived with a letter from Zinzendorf addressed to the students, were

greeted with cordial affection ; and the students immediately wrote to the Count, urging him to pay them a second visit. He responded to the call, and soon reached Jena, accompanied by his family.

The university of Jena was at that time one of the most flourishing in Germany. The faculty of theology was divided, as in most other places, by the controversies between the orthodox school of Wittenberg and the Pietists of Halle ; and the philosophical world was divided also, by the rival parties for and against Wolf. In this withering atmosphere of contention religious life could hardly exist, and the moral habits of the students were daily degenerating. Some few of them had reformed their ways, and were endeavouring to make themselves useful by devoting their leisure time to the instruction of poor children. They had frequent meetings for mutual encouragement in the cause of Christ ; but their religion lacked the spirit of the gospel, and they themselves felt that they had not yet found what they had been seeking. Among this class of students was Spangenberg, who was to become the successor and biographer of Zinzendorf.

The personal character of the Count, the meetings he held, the powerful discourses he delivered, and the Christian spirit that pervaded his own household, soon spread a happy influence around. One evening some students entered the place where he was to preach, for the express purpose of making a disturbance. The Count spoke on the words of the Saviour, Luke xiii. 24, " Strive to enter in at the strait gate ;" and the students, after listening to the end, quietly retired.

These meetings soon became so crowded that the Duke of Eisenach was alarmed, and in a confidential interview with the Count, in which he fully acknowledged the purity of the Count's motives, he begged him to avoid public excitement, and to make his meetings less frequent.

After excursions to Weimar and other places, Zinzendorf left Jena towards the autumn, for a short stay at Halle, where his friends were eagerly awaiting him. The students of that city had heard of the movement in Jena, and they now requested him to organise a special society among them for the purpose of Christian fellowship. But as an attempt of this kind had failed in Jena, he was not disposed to risk a second disappointment, and therefore contented himself with receiving all who chose to come to him for religious conversation, and addressing earnest appeals to the students. During the eight days he spent at Halle he delivered fourteen discourses, one of them being given in the *Pædagogium*, where he had passed his boyish years.

The religious world in Germany was now filled with the fame of Zinzendorf; and while he had many enthusiastic admirers, there were not a few who looked upon him with suspicion. In fact, a party now became formed against him that continued its opposition to the end of his days. During his absence from Herrnhut the faith and zeal of the Brethren had declined, and many among them became concerned at the precarious condition of their little church, as being unrecognised by other evangelical communions. They thought that this exposed them to serious difficulties, and might entail persecution; and they began to canvass

the question of dropping their distinctive name and customs, and identifying themselves with the Lutheran Church. Some of the most influential members of the community sympathised with these views, and Rothe, who was never fully in harmony with the sentiments of Zinzendorf, was one of the first to advocate the proposed step, and Christian David was induced to take the same side.

The Count received the tidings of this state of things while he was in Jena. It will be remembered that he had formerly entertained the opinions that were now gaining ground at Herrnhut. But his heart was grieved to find his friends so ready to sacrifice institutions which had already borne precious fruit, and on which the blessing of God had manifestly rested; and he foresaw an inevitable division in the community. The most painful part of the matter, however, to his mind was the determining cause that had led to this movement. He felt that it was unworthy of a Christian society to be influenced by the fear of suffering, and he was ashamed to think that any of his brethren could be moved by such a paltry consideration as this to resign the liberties which their forefathers had bought with their blood.

After conferring with the Brethren around him who shared his views, he despatched to Herrnhut a protest in their name and his own, against any measures which would involve an abandonment of the ancient Moravian Church. The students and licentiates in Jena supported him, and followed up this communication by a letter of their own, urging the members of the community at Herrnhut to continue in the steps of their ancestors.

These events naturally cast a gloom over Zinzendorf's feelings on retiring to Herrnhut; and although he manifested the same friendly spirit as ever towards Rothe and the rest, and regularly attended the meetings, he refrained from speaking till he had fully discussed the matter with the elders. The result of this conference was that Christian David saw his error, and consented to be deprived of his office as an elder; and his colleagues followed his example. After this, the *statutes* were carefully revised, and put into a new form, with certain important additions; and to prevent their being regarded as a new confession of faith, the Count published them under the name of *ordinances* from his own hand as lord of the manor. One of the articles abolished mortmain and statute labour in Herrnhut for ever.

These ordinances were put to the vote of the community, and unanimously adopted; and peace having thus been restored, the reunion was celebrated by a love-feast.

Rothe gradually ceased to take any part in the affairs of Herrnhut, and eventually, in 1737, left Berthelsdorf for another cure. But the Count redoubled his efforts for the spiritual advancement of the members of the church, and gave a course of lectures on the fruits of the Spirit, classifying the list furnished by St Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians v. 22, and laid down by the same apostle in 1 Cor. xiii. 13, under the three denominations of "faith, hope, and charity."

He also introduced at this time, in the meetings held at his own house, the ceremony of washing the feet, taking the words of Jesus, John xiii. 14, 15, in the sense of a

positive institution. It was afterwards adopted in public worship at Herrnhag, in connexion with the Lord's Supper, but abolished in 1818.

The various religious observances were gradually moulded into a more regular form than at first. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was fixed for once a month; a special monthly day of prayer and thanksgiving was appointed; and the Count also drew up a digest of the names of persons, and of the various conditions in life, by way of assisting the memory in intercessory prayer.

Up to this time no definite provision had been made for the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. But it became indispensably necessary, and the circumstances that led to it were the following:—

A gentleman came from a distant country, and wished to settle at Herrnhut; and the Count would have readily given him permission, but his unchristian conduct obliged the elders to request him to withdraw. He consented to do so, but not until he had unhappily excited in many minds a restless and discontented spirit. He formed a little party around him, who complained of every officer in the church, including the elders; and especially the Count, whom they accused of tyranny. The Count tried every means to bring them to a right mind, but in vain; and he felt that the only course by which the peace of the community could be preserved was to cut off the offenders. He therefore made a solemn declaration, in a meeting of the church, that "all men animated by a spirit of disobedience, malice, and seduction, were and would be under the divine anathema and curse." Having said this, he

fell on his knees, in the presence of the whole assembly, and poured out a fervent prayer that God would have mercy on those on whom the sentence of excommunication had thus been pronounced.

This was sufficient. Some repented, and others left Herrnhut of their own accord.

Zinzendorf had usually punished cases of flagrant vice, or banished the culprit from his dominions, in virtue of his legal authority. But even in these cases he was exceedingly reluctant to use his power; and, accordingly, he devised a method of avoiding this last resort. He made all the fathers of families in Herrnhut, and others who came and settled there from time to time, sign a promise for themselves, and those belonging to them, that they would abstain from things contrary to divine and human laws, such as drunkenness, licentiousness, and theft; and that, if they did not keep this promise, they would sell their houses to the community, and leave Herrnhut.

Zinzendorf's practical wisdom was also shown in the step he now took to keep up a vigorous administration of church affairs. With a view to bring out the talents of some of the younger men, and make them serviceable to the body at large, he resigned his own office as president, in 1730, and proposed that there should be a general election of new officers. The elders followed his example, and their places were immediately filled up. But the presidential chair remained vacant, as it proved very difficult to find a successor to the Count. A number of active and zealous young people came forward and offered themselves for any duties the elders might assign to them.

Work was soon found for them, and they were called *helpers-general*.

Some time before these events, Zinzendorf had published a statement, drawn up and signed by the Brethren themselves, in the presence of an imperial notary and other witnesses, by way of counteracting the false reports that had gone abroad in reference to the colony under his care. Public suspicion had been awakened, especially against the Count himself, on the score of what was called his *indifferentism*, but what really was his thorough catholicity. He was utterly regardless of many things which the theologians of his day thought to be of supreme importance; and he believed in a vital union subsisting between all who loved Christ, in spite of the widest differences of opinion on subordinate matters. We have noticed his friendly intercourse with the Jansenist clergy, and how his desire to promote the spiritual welfare of the French Catholics led him to assist in the translation of Arndt's work, which he dedicated to Cardinal Noailles. He was now anxious to do something of the same sort for the Catholics of Germany; and, with that view, published, in the year 1727, a selection of hymns and prayers, chiefly taken from a work of Angelus Silesius, one of the most eminent of the mystic poets of that country. Angelus, who lived in the middle of the seventeenth century, was born a Protestant, but went over to the Roman Catholic Church. Zinzendorf dedicated the book to Prince Fürstenberg; and it was well received by the Catholics, for whose use it was intended; but it gave great offence to the Protestants; and the Count was accused of leaning to Popery, or, at least,

wanting decision in his principles. The following year, however, encouraged by the success of the work, he formed a plan for publishing a more extended compilation of Catholic poetry, and obtaining the sanction of the pope ! He had no scruple about asking the approval of the sovereign pontiff, because he regarded him as the legal head of those who embraced the canons of the Council of Trent.

“Inasmuch as the pope worships Christ crucified,” he said, “he cannot, according to the definition of St John, be regarded as Antichrist.” Moreover, he had a great respect for the personal character of the man who at that time occupied the papal chair. Benedict XIII. (Orsini), the last pope of the Dominican order, was universally esteemed for his learning and piety, as well as for his tolerant spirit. Many of Zinzendorf’s friends, among the prelates and nobles of the empire, had frequently suggested to him that it would be well to put himself in communication with the pope ; and he, at length, resolved to prepare a letter for the purpose. But his evangelical principles, which he could not sacrifice, created a difficulty at the outset, as to the title by which he should address his holiness. This occasioned delay, and, other matters arising to occupy him, the letter was not sent, and the book did not appear. He had quite lost sight of the circumstance, when one day the draft of this letter, which he had inadvertently left in a volume of Bayle’s Dictionary, fell into the hands of one of his enemies, who took care to circulate a number of copies. It even appeared in a pamphlet written against Zinzendorf, twenty years afterwards ; and

his opponents generally did not fail to make the most of it. Zinzendorf in correspondence with the pope! became the universal war-cry; and it was agreed, on all hands, that Zinzendorf aspired to the cardinal's hat.

Nor was this all. The well-known repugnance of the Count to any intrusion of the civil power on the domain of religious belief, brought upon him the charge of entertaining views subversive of government; while those who disliked religion called him a Pharisee; and the preachers told their flocks that he and the Brethren at Herrnhut were the wolves in sheep's clothing foretold in the gospel.

Attacks of this kind from the old orthodox school fell lightly upon Zinzendorf; but it was not without considerable pain that he found his former friends, the Pietists, who had been allied to him by common sentiment, taking the same hostile position. We have seen how Franke himself, though he became friendly with Zinzendorf towards the end of his life, was far from cordial at first. And there were others who plainly told him he was not converted, and had not yet passed through the "conflict of repentance," as the Pietists called it. One of those who affirmed this, was a pastor of the name of Mischke, on whose behalf the Count had interceded when he was suffering persecution in Silesia. Statements of this kind, coming from men whom he looked upon as his spiritual teachers, greatly discouraged him, and caused him deep distress. It was only by a careful consideration of the steps by which God had led him, and after much earnest prayer, that he attained a full assurance of his adoption as a child of God, and he determined not to torment himself again

by doubt, but rather to acknowledge, and to give thanks to God for the grace bestowed on him.

From this period his fears were scattered, and his heart was at rest; but he found that he could no longer agree with the teachings of the Pietists; and he did not hesitate to express himself freely against their system.

Referring to the *agon pœnitentiæ*, or conflict of repentance, he remarks, in his *Réflexions Naturelles*:—"I confess it is infinitely better for an infant to suffer from convulsions in teething than to die during the process because nature has not acted; but who ever heard of a physician maintaining that children must never cut their teeth till they have been ill? It would be a sad thing, indeed, to see theologians mercilessly insisting on this point; and, when a soul has been born of the Spirit without passing through these spiritual convulsions, trying to snatch it from the arms of the Good Shepherd, and to give it to the wolf, because the process has not been according to their rules." "It would be better to keep to what we find on every page of the New Testament, and in the Old Testament too: 'Of his own will begat he us with the word of truth.'* 'The wind bloweth where it listeth; so is every one that is born of God.'"+

These observations only confirmed the unfavourable opinion which the Pietists had formed of the Count: they accused him of want of gravity; and the paradoxical tone

* James i. 18.

† John iii. 8. Vinet has some observations on this subject from the same point of view, in his article on Ulric Guttinger.—*Études sur la Littérature française au XIX.^e siècle*, vol. iii.

that he was fond of employing, added to his great frankness of speech, gave serious offence. Their opposition grew more and more decided; and they kept up a succession of attacks. There was only one occasion, however, on which Zinzendorf retaliated with anything like impatience, weary as he was of their affected austerity, and of the moral bondage in which they held every one around them; and then he said that there was only one race in the world that he could not endure — namely, “that wretched species of Christians, who style themselves Pietists, though no one else gives them credit for deserving the name.”

Some years before the period to which we are now referring, the celebrated juriconsult Thomasius had told Zinzendorf that he wished him much success, for his enemies would be called legion. And so it came to pass. During the year 1729, pamphlets were poured forth against him from all sides, and though he was little known every one condemned him. “It was like the cry of fire in a village,” says Spangenberg, “when everybody runs out shouting *fire!* though very often nobody knows where the fire is, or even whether there is one at all.”

The bitterest of all these missives emanated, as one would hardly have expected, from the ranks of the Catholic clergy. The author was a Jesuit missionary, known as Père Régent, employed in Silesia to convert the followers of Schwenkfeld. Finding that the protection the Count gave these people stood in his way, he denounced the Brethren at Herrnhut as a new sect of a most dangerous kind. Zinzendorf, according to his custom at that time,

took no notice of this assault; but Rothe and other friends of his, who were involved in the charge, determined to refute it. The Count could not oppose their purpose, but he requested that no reference might be made to any of the aspersions cast upon him as an individual. However, as his assailant had mixed up with the theological elements of the matter certain political insinuations, calculated seriously to compromise Herrnhut with the imperial court, the Count thought it his duty to prevent this, and hastened to lay an explanatory statement before the Cabinet of Vienna. Père Toennemann, the emperor's confessor, arranged the business in the most courteous manner, so as to give the Count the utmost facility in carrying out his plan.

Though forsaken by his former friends while he was under the fire of these foes, Zinzendorf was greatly encouraged by the sympathy of Jablonsky, the chief preacher at the court of Berlin. Jablonsky's mother was a daughter of the famous bishop of the United Brethren, Amos Comenius. His father also received episcopal consecration in 1662, after the breaking up of the old Church, and at a time when the scattered members could only "hope against hope."* And Jablonsky himself bore the title of bishop from the year 1699, though it was hardly anything more than a memento of the past.

Zinzendorf had written to Jablonsky, though he had no personal knowledge of him, to inform him of the reconstitution of a little Moravian community at Herrnhut,

* *Episcopus Ecclesiæ Bohemo-Moravæ in spem contra spem.* See the Geneva Manuscript.

and gave him an account of the circumstances through which it had passed, and the blessing that had attended it. "I rejoice," replied Jablonsky, "to learn that God, in His sovereign goodness, has preserved this little flock of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who, though despised by the world, were the precursors of the Reformation. I bless God for His merciful ways! May He deign to continue His care over this little flock, and still raise up for it nursing fathers and nursing mothers, as He has done in a marvellous manner!" In another letter he observes: "You have made possible, and even realised what might have been looked upon as a *Platonic Republic*, or something more to be desired than to be hoped for." And in writing to Zinzendorf the following year, he expressed his regret at finding, from various publications, that the institutions founded at Herrnhut had been made the subject of reproach. "But," he adds, "it cannot be otherwise; if *ye were of the world, the world would love his own, but because ye are not of the world, the world hateth you*. The servants of Christ cannot escape any more than their Master."

Though harassed by the intolerance of his own enemies, Zinzendorf continued his zealous efforts on behalf of others who, like himself, suffered for their faith. Although he had lost cast among the theologians, he was still held in sufficient repute among men of high station to give weight to his appeals in the cause of the oppressed, and he made the utmost use of this influence. At the very time when the Pietists were assailing him, a number of preachers in Silesia who belonged to this school, being harassed by the

imperial Government, he came forward and boldly defended them. One would have thought that this would have disarmed the doctors of Halle, and induced them to judge him more leniently. But Zinzendorf spoilt everything by extending the like protection to their opponents! He took a lively interest in the fate of a fanatic named Tuchtfeld, who was an avowed enemy of the Pietists at Halle, and spoke in violent terms against all ecclesiastical institutions. Tuchtfeld travelled from place to place, haranguing the people in the market-places, in the fields, and in the woods, and wherever he could gather an audience; till the Berlin Government imprisoned him as a madman.

Zinzendorf addressed a letter directly to the king of Prussia, imploring pardon for this unfortunate man. "I do not wish," he said, "to justify the conduct of Tuchtfeld; but if your Majesty deigns to set him at liberty, I will take him for a time on my hands, and I will endeavour, with the assistance of persons against whom he has no prejudice, to temper his indiscreet zeal. Who knows but he may yet become a useful instrument in the Church of Christ?"

The king immediately ordered some mitigation of Tuchtfeld's hardships, and soon afterwards released him. In the course of a few years the man was restored to a sound state of mind, and was appointed preacher at one of the German courts, where he fulfilled the hope that his friend had cherished.

In the month of August 1730, we find the Count carrying out a purpose he had long entertained of visiting a colony of persecuted people of all sorts, who had taken refuge in

the little town of Berleburg and the neighbouring village of Schwarzenau in Westphalia. Unlike Herrnhut, Berleburg was a Babel of discordant creeds, and a scene of the bitterest contention between various sects. On Zinzendorf's arrival he found, among the most prominent characters in this noisy camp, a man named Dippel, who had acquired some celebrity for literary and scientific knowledge under the assumed name of *Christianus Democritus*, but was too fond of employing irony and satire in the defence of religion. Though Zinzendorf could not approve of the weapons that Dippel relied upon, he greatly admired his dialectic skill, and he remarked, in reference to one of Dippel's works, (the *Evangelical Demonstration*,) that it was "*almost divine*." Dippel was a Christian philosopher, rather than a Christian. He lacked the experience of divine grace, and the system he constructed entirely overlooked the grand fact of redemption. The abuse which had been made of this doctrine in the orthodox Lutheran Church led him to think that it only served to lull the conscience into a fatal sleep, and he thought it his duty to warn people against it as a delusive ground of hope. As Spangenberg remarks:—"Many evangelical divines, such as Arndt, had already urged the necessity of man's co-operation in the work of his salvation, and had protested against the abuse made of the gospel by those who hardened themselves in sin. In doing this they may perhaps have failed to lay sufficient emphasis on the sacrifice of Christ; but they never abandoned it, or substituted anything else as the foundation of all true Christianity. Dippel, on the other hand, openly attacked the doctrine of expiation; but

the respect he felt for the Count induced him to listen attentively to his preaching, and they had many conversations which were not without a happy result."

Dippel's heart was touched, and his prejudices began to give way ; but he preferred his philosophy, and rejected the impressions of the truth. Zinzendorf noted the fact, without perhaps making sufficient allowance for it. They contended for a time on a friendly footing ; but the imprudent zeal of some of Zinzendorf's friends soon led to alienation.

The meetings which the Count held at Berleburg, and his discourses, produced a powerful impression. Even the Jews crowded to hear him, and were often melted to tears. A spirit of union sprang up among the Christians, and some who had been long excluded from the Church for renouncing the institution of the Lord's Supper, and had neglected it for sixteen years, abandoned their errors, and declared that they would in future take the Word of God as the only rule of their conduct, and sealed their vow by the solemn celebration of that sacred ordinance.

But this happy change was of short duration.

There was at that time a little religious society at Büdingen, in the county of Ysemburg, called the *Inspired*. Having heard that the Count was at Berleburg, they wrote and asked him to pay them a visit. Zinzendorf consented. He was well received among them, and soon gained their confidence. The most influential man among them was a saddler named John Frederick Rock, who was said to be occasionally subject to divine inspiration. "I found him to be a sober man," says Zinzendorf, "without any affectation or presumption ; he had none of the stubbornness of

a sectary, but listened to what one said, and seldom contradicted. He was rich in pastoral experience. The conversations I had with him were much blessed to me, and I shall never forget them."

While the Count was at Büdingen he saw Rock in one of his ecstasies. At these times, though usually so calm and collected, Rock suddenly began to tremble from head to foot, his head moving backwards and forwards with indescribable rapidity. In this state he pronounced a succession of broken words, which his followers believed to be inspired, and therefore treasured them up with great care.

"The sight," says Zinzendorf, "terrified me; but the more extraordinary it seemed, and the greater repugnance I felt, the more careful I was to suspend my judgment, inasmuch as I had never seen how the ancient prophets appeared; and, moreover, the repulsive effect of anything is no reason why it should be false, or why we should reject it."

Zinzendorf witnessed this phenomenon upon another occasion, when Rock was at Herrnhut; but he became more and more suspicious of it, and at length altogether rejected the claims of Rock to the credit of inspiration, as he found that the communications he professed to receive did not always agree with the Word of God. But he still looked upon him as a true Christian. "It has not been proved to me," he said in one of his letters, "that a child of God may not be led astray by his reason or his imagination. If I did not believe this to be possible, I should have to admit the damnation of many very pious souls, who have fallen into foolish and erroneous ideas,—things which will all be con-

sumed, whilst the souls themselves will be saved, as through fire.”* At another time he wrote: “When my friend John Frederick comes to me with his systematic and *hypostatic* heart only filled with faith and with love to Christ, I say to him, *Flesh and blood hath not revealed that to thee, but my Father which is in heaven.*† But when you say that an institution established by Christ may be changed, perfected, or abandoned, and that a Church may exist without it, then my love to my Master forces me to give a sharp reply, though I spoke to you affectionately a moment before, and to say, *Get thee behind me, Satan ; thou art an offence unto me.*”‡

It is needless to say that this visit of Zinzendorf to the sectaries of Berleburg, and to the *inspired* at Büdingen, were made the subject of severe animadversion. “He might have foreseen this,” says Spangenberg, “but he was not likely to be influenced by a consideration of this kind against a course which appeared to him to be accordant with the will of God. The Protestants of that age usually treated those who were in error very harshly ; and they looked with great suspicion upon the tenderness manifested towards them by the Count.” He himself subsequently saw good reason to modify his procedure in this respect, but he said he was perfectly sure that God, who knew his motives, would not condemn him.

* 1 Cor. iii. 15.

† Matt. xvi. 17.

‡ Matt. xvi. 23.

CHAPTER XI.

VISIT TO DENMARK.

ON his return to Herrnhut, Zinzendorf resumed his accustomed activity, and laboured with indefatigable zeal for the spiritual advancement of those who had become his special charge. When any one came to him for the purpose of religious conversation, he was extremely careful not to lose the opportunity of doing good, and he would never be the first to close the interview, even though it lasted the whole night. On the 16th of February 1731, he wrote, in his journal, referring to the excessive and anxious occupation of the day: "If I had many days like this, I think I should die. But all this is so much seed for eternity. There is not one of our tears that He does not treasure up."

He never allowed a fault to pass unnoticed, especially in the officers of the Church, though he never assumed the air of a superior, but expostulated, as a brother, with those who had erred, mingling his prayers and tears with theirs. Spangenberg tells us that when any gross sin had been committed, Zinzendorf would often weep with the guilty person, and if he found him in despair on account of his crime, he would use every effort to console him. Such was the pity he felt for one "whom God had punished,"

he said, "with the most terrible of punishments, by leaving him to fall into sin." On the other hand, however, there were certain inconsistencies which many would think little of, but which he treated with the utmost severity. "He raged like a lion," says his biographer just quoted, "at the sin of envy, pride, or bitterness of spirit; he would hear nothing, and nothing would pacify him." And the reason he assigned was full of significance. "We can never be too watchful," he said, "against these first symptoms,—this is the only way to prevent a fall." At the same time, if any one disregarded his warnings, and fell into outward misconduct, Zinzendorf did not give him up, but, on the contrary, entertained the hope that his transgression would reveal to him the evil of his heart, and drive him to Jesus Christ for deliverance.

Of all things that Zinzendorf hated, hypocrisy was the most intolerable to him. A woman, who had resided some time at Herrnhut, had been accustomed to talk a great deal about her spiritual distress, representing that she desired to be converted, and that she earnestly prayed for it, but that the Lord was deaf to her entreaties. Some doubt had been felt at times as to these professions, but she always protested her sincerity. At last, one day, when the Count had been speaking about hypocrisy, and referring to the case of Ananias and Sapphira, to show the horrible character of this sin in the sight of God, the woman, who was present, suddenly fell on the ground, and had to be carried away in a state of insensibility. When she recovered she confessed that, up to that moment, she had persisted in the most abominable hypocrisy.

Another instance is on record of the power with which the Spirit of God sometimes attended Zinzendorf's ministry. A Moravian of the name of Münster, who had been many years an inhabitant of Herrnhut, and had formerly pursued a happy and consistent course, became gradually altered, and after some disputes with another of the Brethren, sank into hopeless melancholy, and lost all confidence in God. He resolved at last to quit Herrnhut.

One night the Count, who had observed this man for several months with great anxiety, but had never found an opportunity of talking to him, felt so concerned about him that, although it was ten o'clock, he could not resist the impulse to go out and seek him. It happened to be the very hour that Münster had fixed for his departure, and Zinzendorf met him at his door. "How are you?" said Zinzendorf. "Not well," the poor man replied, in a hollow voice; and when the Count proceeded to speak to him in his own kind way, he burst into tears, and this was the only answer he could return. The next day, however, he came to Zinzendorf, and told him the sad tale of his woe. He remained at Herrnhut, and continued a faithful and consistent member of the Church to the end of his days.

We have referred to the deep interest taken by the Count in the education of the young, and the views he entertained on this subject. For some time he carried on the work himself, but with only partial success. He did not possess the requisite gifts, and, besides being too sensitive to the faults of his scholars, he was too much occupied with the general direction of the Church to

admit of his devoting much time to this department of labour.

The care of the sick was another object to which the Brethren at Herrnhut zealously gave themselves. Zinzendorf thought that the cure of disease commenced in the soul. He believed that God has a special purpose to accomplish when He afflicts His children, and that it is their first duty to seek to know what this purpose is. As soon as the real cause of the visitation is ascertained, and when the message it conveys has been obeyed, then, he said, it is right to pray for healing, and to expect it.

Several extraordinary cases of recovery through faith and prayer occurred at Herrnhut at this time. The Count rejoiced at them, and blessed God with all his heart. In one instance his own prayer was answered in a very remarkable manner. But he was apprehensive lest the Brethren should allow themselves to be too much taken up with matters of this kind; and hence, on one occasion, when one of these sudden restorations took place, he spoke of it as a very simple circumstance that need not excite any special attention. He took pains to insist on the fact that miracles were not intended for believers, but for unbelievers; and that the faith which works miracles is a gift not necessarily associated with true piety. The great thing, he maintained, was to love Christ, and to go to Him for everything.

It will be remembered that in the year 1728 the Brethren at Herrnhut were on the point of a fusion with the Lutheran Church, but for the strong opposition offered by the Count;

and it is somewhat surprising to find him only two years later reviving the project himself.

It was not the fear of persecution that led to this singular change in his views, though his adversaries were by no means weary of their assaults. When they could not succeed in fixing reproach on his character, they made the very blamelessness of his life a ground of objection, and said that he sought to make amends for his heterodox doctrines by legal works. Zinzendorf took no notice of the contradictory communications addressed to him from all sides in reference to these reports, but appealed to the Searcher of hearts. Once only, having met with a pamphlet, by a person of the name of Weidner, charging him, among other things, with rejecting infant baptism, he hastened to reply, informing the author that the Countess had just presented him with a daughter, and requesting that he would do them the favour to stand as sponsor at the baptism.

But what Zinzendorf would not have done from fear, he did in the spirit of charity, and for the good of others. Besides which, the opinions of men for whom he felt an esteem had a certain influence on him at this time, superior as he was to the judgment of his enemies. It was at a subsequent period that he adopted the rule of the miller in the fable, to let people's praise and blame alike enter at one ear and go out at the other.

It is difficult to say whether these were his only reasons for the line of action he now pursued. Our primary motives are often known only to ourselves. Who can tell how many conflicting arguments may have crossed the sensitive mind of Zinzendorf? In the course of a great

work there is sure to be a point at which even the strongest minds look back and hesitate as to whether they shall advance or retreat. While fanaticism dashes heedlessly on, the firmest and purest faith trembles and falters.

The Count first communicated his thoughts on this subject to the elders, and then proposed, in an assembly of the Brethren, that the constitution of the Church at Herrnhut should be abolished, and that they should unite with the Lutheran Church, to prevent the community, which had been founded for the sake of Christian union, from becoming a source of division. The proposal, however, met with little favour. The Brethren were unwilling to part with institutions which had become hallowed and endeared by many tokens of divine blessing; and the arguments employed by the Count on the other side of the question, two years before, were now reproduced against him. There was a long and earnest discussion, which resulted in a unanimous resolution to refer the matter to divine arbitration, by the use of the lot. Two pieces of paper were thrown into the urn, one inscribed with the words, 1 Cor. ix. 21, "To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law;" and the other with the exhortation of St Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 15, "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught." Fervent prayer was offered, and then Zinzendorf's little son, Christian René, a child of three years old, put his hand into the urn and brought out the injunction to *stand fast*.

This was enough, and Zinzendorf was now convinced

that God was with the Church of the Brethren, and he resolved from this moment to devote himself more than ever to its interests. He was anxious, if possible, to put himself in a more favourable position for carrying out this purpose; and he thought it would be desirable to seek ecclesiastical consecration. But he still held the title of councillor at the court of Saxony, though he had for some time given up the active duties of that office; and it was requisite that the title itself should be relinquished. It might seem a very simple and easy matter to do this. But there were difficulties connected with it which demanded serious consideration. The idea of a member of the Aulic Council resigning his office to become a minister of the gospel was something so unprecedented, that it was sure to produce great excitement, and to shock many of his friends. In order to avoid this undesirable result, Zinzendorf determined to transfer himself from the service of the Elector of Saxony to that of the King of Denmark. His appointment at the Danish court would only be nominal, and he could easily withdraw from that to enter the ecclesiastical state; besides which he thought this would give time for his circle in Dresden to forget him, and thus the step he contemplated would not attract so much attention. While the electoral government was not at all favourable to Herrnhut, the piety of Christian VI. afforded a reasonable ground of hope that his support would not be wanting to the new community; and it is not unlikely that the Count may have had an eye to some future missionary enterprise in the pagan regions belonging to Denmark, such as Greenland and Lapland.

In the month of April 1731, Zinzendorf set out for Copenhagen with the approval of the Church at Herrnhut, and accompanied by some of the Brethren. He was received in the most favourable manner, and every possible mark of distinction was lavished upon him.

The Danish court at that time presented an interesting scene. "It was a kind of twilight," says Spangenberg, "and it seemed uncertain whether the light or the darkness would triumph. A religious awakening had taken place among the clergy, in the king's cabinet, and in the royal family itself; though many persons of high rank and powerful influence were jealous of the movement."

The king was greatly taken with Zinzendorf, and, in a confidential interview, offered him an appointment as one of his ministers of state. This, however, the Count at once refused, stating that he did not aspire to such a distinction, and that all he desired was some office which would admit of his continuing in connexion with Herrnhut, and would offer him the opportunity of doing something for the kingdom of God in the Danish dominions. Contrary to his expectations, however, his scheme broke down. He made too little pretension and was passed by. No doubt there were intriguing heads at work, who did what they could to prevent his gaining too much ascendancy over the young king.

It was the king's wish that Zinzendorf should be present at the ceremony of his coronation, which was about to take place at Friedrichsburg; and he, accordingly, sent one of his own carriages to fetch him, and assigned him one of the handsomest apartments in the castle. Zinzen-

dorf soon learnt that it was the king's intention to confer upon him the order of the Danebrog ; and his first impulse was to decline it, for he thought it might stand in the way of the objects that he had so much at heart. But, finding that his refusal would give offence to the king, he determined to accept the honour, holding himself at liberty to resign it at any time he wished.

The young monarch sent for him, gave him the warmest assurances of his esteem and affection, and fastened on the band of the order with his own hand. " I almost thought you would not accept it," said the queen. " Why not, your majesty ?" replied the Count. " I would not mind being a footman, for Christ's sake, if it were necessary."

A few days after this event, Zinzendorf presented to the king a paper, detailing a plan that he was revolving, to found " a new university, which would fill the world with the knowledge of the gospel." Christian VI. read the paper with great interest, and told the Count that he had long had a somewhat similar idea in his own mind. But nothing came of it, as the young king was not in a position to attempt such an enterprise without the co-operation of his ministers ; and they were little likely to favour a scheme emanating from a foreigner whose influence they distrusted.

Zinzendorf quitted Denmark more weary than ever with the vanities of the world. " He had seen," says one of his biographers, " that a pious court is a court still." In writing to the Countess, he remarked : " If there is any good to be done at court, I shall not undertake to do it ; for so much time is lost in the veriest trifles, that I should

not like to go before God having to answer for such a bad use of my days and hours."

His idea of an exchange of places having thus proved abortive, he simply resigned his office in Saxony, and gave the king a full explanation of his motives, together with a precise account of the institutions at Herrnhut, about which such false reports were in circulation.

But although his visit to Denmark had apparently failed, in so far as his own plans were concerned, it led to results of great importance.

From the time that Zinzendorf used to listen to the thrilling facts brought home by the missionaries, and told in the meetings at Halle, he had never ceased to feel an enthusiastic interest in the salvation of the heathen; and he had not forgotten the vow he made with Watteville, to labour for this cause whenever the way should open. Missions to the heathen had already been established in some parts of Denmark and its colonies; and although they had accomplished but little, there was reason to hope that, under the reign of such a sovereign as Christian VI., they might be revived and extended. Hence the idea that sprang up in Zinzendorf's mind of founding in that country a missionary university, or school for the training of missionaries to labour in all parts of the world. But the providence of God had other designs in view; and they were brought to pass by an apparently trifling circumstance.

CHAPTER XII.

MISSIONS TO THE NEGROES.

WHILE the Count was at Copenhagen, he met with two Greenlanders, who told him about Egedius, whose devoted missionary labours seemed to have been almost a failure. The Count was grieved to hear of this disappointment; but he was still more concerned to find that the promoters of the enterprise were thinking of recalling Egedius, and abandoning the field.

It so happened, at the same time, that the Count fell in with a converted negro from the island of St Thomas, whom he questioned about the slaves in the Danish colonies. The poor man drew a mournful picture of their condition, the oppression they were suffering, and their utter ignorance of the gospel; and he assured the Count that, if any one would go and preach to them, there were many of them who would welcome the glad tidings of salvation. "I have a sister in bondage," he added; "and I am sure she would be converted if she could only hear about Jesus Christ." Zinzendorf's heart was moved; and he thought he saw the finger of God pointing to the work that was in store for him. Delighted with the prospect, he wrote to the Countess, to tell her what had passed:—"Yesterday," he says, "I had a very friendly interview with

Count Laurwig. He wishes to come and see us. He has given me permission to bring his black slave, Antoine, home with me, as I want him to see Herrnhut, and to prepare the way for an effort on behalf of the negroes of Africa and America. The Danish missions in Greenland and Lapland have been abandoned. The way is open for any one who will undertake the work. I see a vast field before me. May the Lord be pleased to say, Amen !”

“On the 23d of July 1731,” says Spangenberg, “the day after the Count returned to Herrnhut, he reported, in the meeting then held, what he had heard at Copenhagen as to the wretched state of the negroes. By the grace of God, his words produced such an effect upon Leonard Dober,* one of the Brethren, that he there and then resolved to offer himself as a missionary to these poor enslaved races. The same resolution was formed, at the same time, by another of the brotherhood, Tobias Leopold ; but, although they were intimate friends, they said nothing to each other on the subject until they had each spread the matter before the Lord. After an almost sleepless night, Leonard Dober opened the Bible, on the morning of July 24, to seek for some direction from above, and his eye fell on this passage:—‘For it is not a vain thing for you ; because it is your life : and through this thing ye shall prolong your days in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess it,’ (Deut. xxxii. 47.) These words greatly strengthened him. He then communicated his

* Leonard Dober was a Suabian potter, who had settled at Herrnhut. He was, as will be seen, the last elder of the Church of the Brethren, and afterwards became bishop.

thoughts to Leopold, by whom they were warmly reciprocated; and they knelt together before God, and told Him the desire of their hearts.

“On the 25th of July, Leopold wrote to the Count, and informed him that he and Leonard Dober felt impelled to go and preach to the negroes.

“Their letter was read that evening in the meeting for psalmody, but their names were not mentioned.

“On the 29th of July, the negro, referred to in Zinzen-dorf's letter to the Countess, arrived from Copenhagen, and a short time afterwards gave his own account, in one of the gatherings of the Brethren, of the deplorable condition of the black population in the West Indies. But he stated it as his belief that it would be impossible for a missionary to reach these poor creatures in any other way than by becoming a slave himself, for their toils were so incessant and exhausting, that there was no chance of instructing them, except when they were at work.

“This, however, did not frighten Dober or his friend Leopold, but only confirmed them in their resolution. The matter then being referred to the council of the community, it was decided that Leonard Dober should go to the West Indies, but that Leopold should remain a while longer at Herrnhut. A year, however, elapsed before Dober set out, on the 21st of August 1732.

“Such was the commencement of the mission of the Brethren in the Danish islands of St Thomas, Santa Crux, and St John.”

Other missionaries soon offered themselves for Greenland. Some of the Count's companions, who had been

with him in Copenhagen, communicated to the same meeting in which the negro spoke what they had heard about the Greenlanders and the efforts of Egedius; and when the letter of Dober and Leopold was read, two days afterwards, two other Brethren felt a strong desire to consecrate themselves to the cause of the heathen in northern regions. But these Brethren were young,—“young in years and young in grace,” says Spangenberg,—and hesitated for some time on account of their own unfitness. They waited till they felt assured that the Lord had called them to this work, before they mentioned the subject to Zinzendorf, and he kept them some time without any answer. At length, however, when he found that they fully adhered to their purpose, he gave his consent; but their departure was deferred, like that of the other missionaries, for a whole year, and they did not set out till the 9th of January 1733.

Zinzendorf himself was the chief cause of these delays, as he was extremely anxious to make sure that the Brethren who offered themselves were really called to the missionary work. Before consenting to let Dober go, he took him on a journey to Neustadt-on-the-Esque, that he might have an opportunity for closer acquaintance with him. He felt the importance of undertakings of this nature too much to allow any one to enter upon them rashly. So far indeed from encouraging any one who happened to express an inclination for missionary work, if he saw the least indication of regret, or the slightest hesitation, he considered this to be a sufficient reason for stopping any one who was about to start. “I know he would have done this,” says

Spangenberg, "in such a case, even if the brother had been on board the ship, and the ship had been on the point of sailing."

It should be added that the Count never gave any instructions to those who went forth on this errand, but simply "commended them to God and His grace," (Acts xx. 32.)

CHAPTER XIII.

DEALINGS WITH EMIGRANTS.

WHEN Zinzendorf returned from Denmark to Herrnhut, he found seventy-four new comers who had arrived in his absence. He received them with his usual kindness and generosity, although he had reason to expect fresh troubles from this renewed process of emigration, as he was accused of being the instigator, and the Government of Dresden now expostulated with him on the subject. He replied that the charge made against him of promoting emigration was utterly unfounded, and, to prove this, he opened an inquiry, and questioned each one of the new settlers. Their evidence went to show that they had left their country from an earnest desire for freedom to profess their faith; and they had given good proof of their sincerity by forsaking all they possessed.

One commune of Moravia sent a deputation to Zinzendorf to demand the extradition of two of its members who had taken refuge at Herrnhut. He received the deputies with great respect, and after referring the matter to his court of justice, sent them an official reply sealed with his own seal.

"The Count," it was said, in this document, "has no desire to draw the inhabitants of other countries into his

dominions ; and those who are now demanded are free to return to their own land. But as they both declare that they cannot profess the Catholic faith, without professing which it is not lawful for them to remain in Moravia, and as they are resolved to suffer the loss of all that they have gained by the sweat of their brow, rather than do that, the Count cannot in conscience send them back against their will."

While, however, the Count resolutely defended the sacred rights of conscience, he was careful to keep within the limits of justice, and to uphold the principles of moral rectitude with the strictest impartiality. A case in point occurred when one of these refugees, who had secretly returned to Moravia to see his parents, was arrested and thrown into prison. The authorities, not knowing what to do with him, released him after a time, and gave him a safe-conduct, which stated that he had recanted. On his return to Herrnhut, Zinzendorf and the Brethren, to whom the man communicated what had passed, felt some scruples as to the pretence under which he was liberated. After conferring on the subject they decided that, as he owed his liberty to a false representation, he ought to go back to Moravia and make himself a prisoner again. He at once left Herrnhut, and carried out this decision to the letter. Fortunately for him, the Government was not disposed to trouble itself about the matter, and he was told rather roughly that he might go about his business. But the brave man refused to leave the place till a document had been given him, certifying that he had duly presented himself.

The storm, however, continued to gather, and threatened

to break upon Zinzendorf. His aunt, Madlle. Gersdorf, had never approved of what had been done at Herrnhut, and had kept entirely away from the place. But in spite of this, circumstances arose that placed her in a position analogous to that of her nephew. Some Bohemian families, who had fled to Lusatia on account of religious persecution, asked her to give them an asylum at Hennersdorf. She had granted their request, and appointed John Liberda, a Lutheran minister, as their pastor. The preaching of Liberda produced a revival of religion, and the Bohemian Brethren began to flock to Hennersdorf.

This new colony, within a single league of Herrnhut, was the occasion of additional uneasiness at the court of Vienna, and it was feared that the territories of the Count and his aunt, being so near to each other, would form a refuge for fanatics of every description, and a centre of Protestant influence in the states of the emperor. The Count was, of course, suspected of having to do with the movement.

The imperial ambassador at the court of Saxony complained to the Government of Dresden, and demanded that all emigrants belonging to the Austrian states should be given up. Although such a demand as this could not be complied with, it was determined that the matter be thoroughly sifted, with a view to meet the ends of justice; and a commission of inquiry was opened at Herrnhut. Two points were to form the subject of investigation:—

1. How had the Count acted in reference to emigrants? Had he endeavoured to draw them from the states of the emperor?

2. What doctrines were believed, and what was the

standard of moral conduct at Herrnhut? What had given rise to so many evil reports respecting it?

The commission of inquiry met at Herrnhut in the month of January 1732, and drew together a vast number of curious persons, some of whom came long distances, in the hope of witnessing Zinzendorf's condemnation. On the first head he had no difficulty in clearing himself. His own statements, supported by those of the emigrants in the examination to which every one of them was subjected, proved that he had never, in any way, fostered the tendency to emigrate; and that all who had taken refuge in his dominions, without a single exception, came of themselves, out of attachment to a persecuted faith.

The second question was more difficult to settle. Zinzendorf, however, concealed nothing, but laid open the whole organisation of Herrnhut, even down to the minutest details, for the inspection of the commissioners. He invited them to all the meetings, both of the community at large and of the different choirs, and expressed his wish that when they were present everything should go on in the usual way, without the slightest alteration.

After a close examination which lasted four days, the commissioners withdrew, "convinced, touched, and full of affection for Herrnhut," as Zinzendorf himself states. The Count wrote to the King of Saxony, as well as to the Minister, and concluded the second of these letters by saying that, if the Government found the least inconvenience arising from the settlements under his protection, or thought that any advantage would accrue from the removal of the Moravians, it had nothing to do but to

let him know, and he would be ready to dismiss them from his territories in such a way as to save the court any blame on the score of persecution.

The favourable report presented by the commissioners at once put to silence Zinzendorf's enemies. But the Government abstained from pronouncing any opinion, and simply issued a decree forbidding any one, from that time, to receive into Saxony any emigrant from the hereditary states of the house of Austria.

No sooner had this peril passed, than the Count was compromised by another occurrence, of which his aunt at Hennersdorf was the indirect cause.

The Bohemians established in her domain had not found such a happy resting-place as the Moravians at Herrnhut. Though she was a woman of great piety, she had not the liberal spirit of the Count. She forbade the settlers under her protection to cross the frontier of the country, and she would not allow them to have numerous meetings among themselves, or to explain the Bible when they did meet. The Bohemians, incensed at this tyrannic treatment, refused to do her homage, or to take the oath that she required of them. The most turbulent of them were consequently arrested, some being put in prison, and others banished. But this did not quell the dissatisfaction, and the whole of the Bohemians moved off in a body to Herrnhut. There was no room to receive them, and most of them had to take up their abode in the street.

If the Count had been guided by motives of policy, he would have refused to shelter them, for he could easily have foreseen that they would be a fruitful source of

trouble, and that the tongue of censure would not be likely to spare him from reproach. But pity silenced all prudential considerations. Many of them were sick, all were poor, and they were so ignorant of the language of the country, that they could scarcely make themselves understood. Zinzendorf, therefore, gave them every assistance in his power.

But as his aunt, to whom he immediately wrote for an explanation, declared that she would not renounce the right that she had over them, Zinzendorf gave them official notice that he could not permit them to settle at Herrnhut. He tried to persuade them to act on the advice given by the angel to Hagar: *Return to thy mistress, and submit thyself to her hands.* (Gen. xvi. 9.) But the Bohemians would not take this advice; and they set out, in the month of October 1732, in search of another place of safety. Liberda, their pastor, was imprisoned, and they wandered about in a state of misery and destitution. Their steps were tracked by the Saxon police, and they were not allowed to approach the Prussian frontier. It was feared that the presence of such large numbers of people roaming over the country might lead to social disorder, if not to scarcity of food. It happened, too, by a fatal coincidence, that this took place at the same season of the year as the emigration of the Protestants from Salzburg.* The Government was alarmed, and an attempt

* The persecutions carried on by the Archbishop of Salzburg against the Protestants of his states, drove thirty thousand of them to emigrate, —some to various parts of Germany, and others to England, Holland, Sweden, Russia, and America.

was made to impute all the blame to Zinzendorf, although, in fact, he had nothing whatever to do with the matter. He learned, on good authority, that preparations were being made to arrest him and to throw him into prison at Koenigstein. But in consequence of the advice of some individuals, who thought that this would be going too far, the Government adopted a milder, though not less arbitrary course, and on the 27th of November 1732, Zinzendorf received a royal order to sell his estates; and he was given to understand that he must quit the country as soon as possible, before his arrest was decreed.

It was a remarkable fact that he had voluntarily disposed of his property ten years before this injunction was issued, having transferred the whole of it to his wife, by a contract of sale, at the time of his marriage,—so that it only remained for him to give the Countess actual possession of what legally belonged to her, and to invest her with full authority. The Government did not object to this arrangement, provided that Zinzendorf withdrew; but he was plainly told that this was an indispensable condition.

“From this time,” says Spangenberg, “the Count resolved never to possess anything as his own. He had many opportunities, in after days, of acquiring property and lordly dominion, but he regarded it as a privilege to be merely a pilgrim on earth.”

“I am naturally one of those,” said Zinzendorf himself, “who are never happier anywhere than at home, who like to have their little establishment around them, and can always find plenty to do there to pass their time well. It

has not pleased the Lord to order matters thus ; but I have learnt by experience that there is happiness in being at home everywhere, as He was who passed most of His life as a pilgrim and in exile."

No one could predict where the persecution would end. Gloomy tidings poured in upon Herrnhut from all sides ; and it was said that the Government had resolved to break up the community. The Brethren quietly waited to see what the Lord would do ; and while Zinzendorf was preparing to depart, everything went on as usual. The missionaries sailed for Greenland ; and the General Assembly, in order to preserve the Count's full connexion with the Church during his absence, re-elected him to the office of president, which he had resigned in 1730.

On the 26th of January 1733, Zinzendorf bade farewell to his friends at Herrnhut, and went into banishment, accompanied by three of the Brethren.

CHAPTER XIV.

EXAMINATION IN THEOLOGY.

A FEW days after the departure of Zinzendorf, an event occurred which had a favourable influence on his position. Augustus II., Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, died at Varsovia on the 1st of February 1733.

The Count was at Ebersdorf when the news arrived, but he did not alter any of his plans. He had resolved on a journey to Tubingen, with a view to lay before the professors of theology in that city an account of the faith and constitution of the community at Herrnhut, and to ascertain their opinion as to whether it could retain its discipline and continue in connexion with the evangelical Church. The authentic approval of such an influential authority as the University of Tubingen could not but be of high value to the Brethren, for they were constantly charged with the profession of doctrines opposed to pure Lutheranism, and this was used as a pretext for their condemnation.

The Count had no sooner reached Tubingen than he was taken ill. He had long suffered from a painful disease of the eyes, which had been aggravated by incessant exertion and long midnight watches; and he was now attacked by a fever which obliged him to keep his bed. But this did not prevent him from prosecuting the object he had at

heart. He asked the professors to meet in his sick-room, and summoning the little strength he possessed, he laid his case fully before them.

As soon as his health permitted, Zinzendorf undertook a work of evangelisation in Tübingen, Stuttgart, and the neighbouring places. He was welcomed wherever he went, and his words were blessed to many souls. The most distinguished men in Wirtemberg, among whom was the pious and learned Bengel, received him with marks of esteem and affection, which humbled him. "In Lusatia," he wrote to the Countess, "I had to bear reproach and persecution; but the high esteem in which I am held here torments me a thousand times more: it is a punishment to me."

In preaching, Zinzendorf pursued his invariable plan. He concentrated all his efforts on two objects:—1. To awaken the unconverted and gain them for Christ. 2. To establish union and fraternal communion among believers. "But what is the best means," he was asked one day at Tübingen, "of securing this communion among believers?" "Ah!" he replied, "it is difficult to say, but it is easy to do." And when surprise was expressed at this answer, he added, "We have only to be as zealous in the cause of Jesus as the children of this world are in their affairs, and the communion of saints will soon be realised."

While Zinzendorf was thus engaged, the doctors at Tübingen gave a careful consideration to the question he had submitted to them, and unanimously agreed on an affirmative answer. They were quite aware, they said to Zinzendorf, that their verdict would be looked at in an

unfavourable light, but they felt that they must risk everything for the cause of God. Accordingly, on the 19th of April, they drew up their decision in due form. "And thus," says Schrautenbach, "the constitution of the new Church of the Brethren, which had been confirmed at Herrnhut, by the judgment of God, on the 7th of January 1731,* was also confirmed, by the judgment of men, at Tübingen on the 19th of April 1733."

Zinzendorf quitted Tübingen delighted at his success, and repaired to Ebersdorf. There he learnt that the new Elector of Saxony was better disposed towards Herrnhut than Augustus II. had been. One of the first acts of his reign was to grant to Moravian emigrants the privilege of free settlements in his states; and a short time after, he sent the Count his formal permission to return to Herrnhut.

The followers of Schwenkfeld, who had hitherto been sheltered in the kingdom, not being included in the above provision, were ordered to leave the country forthwith, and Zinzendorf exerted himself for their assistance. As England was just then colonising Georgia, he obtained leave from the English Government for them to settle in that province. But, at the moment of their departure, they changed their plan, and fixed on Pennsylvania as their future home.

The Moravians looked upon this circumstance as a providential intimation that they should colonise Georgia themselves, as it offered an opportunity for preaching the gospel to the American Indians. Ten of the Brethren

* This was the date of the decision by lot referred to at p. 141.

undertook the mission, headed by Spangenberg, and they were soon followed by twenty-six others.

The happy issue of Zinzendorf's journey into Suabia, and his unexpected return to Herrnhut, greatly encouraged the Brethren there, and helped to quicken their activity.

It was at this time that the mission to the island of St Croix was commenced; and the circumstances connected with its origin may be mentioned as showing how decided Zinzendorf was in adhering to the one object of evangelism. One of the high officials at the Danish court, named Von Pless, having established plantations in St Croix, proposed to send out twelve Moravian Brethren, in the twofold capacity of superintendents over the negroes in their work, and preachers of the gospel, thinking that the two offices might be advantageously united in the same persons. The Count, however, protested against any such association of the cause of Christ with worldly interests; and although he felt it his duty to yield to the strong opinions expressed by others in favour of it, "rather than incur something worse," as he says in his *Reflections Naturelles*,* he would not give his consent till the fullest liberty of conscience had been guaranteed not only to the missionaries but to the negroes.

Although the busy occupations of the past two years had prevented the Count from taking any further steps

* The most interesting and original of all the Count's works, written in twelve parts between the years 1746 and 1749, and afterwards published in a single volume, in explanation of his own views on various subjects, and of his reasons for the course of action he pursued.

in reference to the vocation of the ministry, an unforeseen occurrence now opened the way for the realisation of his long-cherished desire.

A pious merchant at Stralsund, named Richter, of whom he had no personal knowledge, wrote to him, saying that he was anxious to find a suitable tutor for his family, and asking Zinzendorf if he could send him one. Zinzendorf at once determined to go himself, as he thought he would thus have an opportunity of presenting himself *incognito* before Langemak and Sibeth, two eminent theologians, who resided in that city, and passing an examination, which would entitle him to a certificate of orthodoxy, as the first step to ecclesiastical orders.

Having informed Richter that he might expect a tutor to arrive in a short time, he set out on the 17th of March 1734, and, on reaching Stralsund, presented himself to his future employer, under the name of Louis von Freydeck,* and immediately commenced his duties.

The day after his arrival he called on Langemak, the superintendent, and, without making known who he was, told him of his wish to be examined in theology. A few days afterwards, he was requested to preach. Referring to one of his conversations with Langemak, Zinzendorf says: "We talked in a free and friendly manner on various subjects; and mention being made of Langemak's works, he showed me a catechism he had composed, and the plan of a work he had on hand, in refutation of Count Zinzendorf and the Herrnhutites. I asked him whether he had read the writings of these people, and he replied that he

* His real name, see p. 7.

had not, but he had derived his knowledge of their sentiments from the pamphlet by Dr Weidner of Rostock.* I then told him what I knew about the matter, and urged him to read the writings of the Count, which he promised to do."

On the 11th of April, Zinzendorf preached as a candidate in theology. This was the first time he had appeared in the pulpit of a church, and it formed the first step in his new career. He was subsequently examined by the two divines above mentioned, who spent three whole days in questioning him, sometimes in Latin, and sometimes in German, on all the chief doctrines of Christianity. After this ordeal, he had to deliver four more sermons, one of which drew tears from the eyes of the venerable Langemak, and then a certificate of orthodoxy was given him, accompanied by a full account of the examination he had undergone. The certificate referred to certain points on which the Count differed from the views received in the Lutheran Church,—as, for example, in regard to marriage, and to the ceremony of washing the feet, which he regarded as having a sacramental character; but it stated that these were non-essential points, on which differences of opinion might be entertained without the implication of heterodoxy.

Zinzendorf quitted Stralsund after a stay of five weeks. He left his sword with Langemak, and never wore it again. The inhabitants of the place, who had been deeply impressed by the preaching of this remarkable man, did not know who it was that had struck such deep chords in their hearts, till after he was gone. But Richter soon followed

* See p. 140.

him to Herrnhut, and eventually became a missionary among the poor slaves of Algeria.

The kingdom of Wurtemberg offered a way for a nobleman to take orders in the Church, without divesting himself of his previous rank, by obtaining a nomination to one of the benefices which had passed from the Romish hierarchy to the hands of the Lutheran Church. There were certain old abbeys coming under this denomination, the holders of which bore the title of prelates, and thus combined the secular and the spiritual dignities. Zinzendorf, with a view to conciliate public prejudice, applied to the Duke of Wurtemberg for one of these which was then in ruins, and offered to restore the building, at his own expense, for the purpose of a theological seminary.

His request was refused; and this scheme, like his project of a new university in Denmark, fell to the ground.

Zinzendorf now had recourse to the Faculty of Theology at Tubingen, and at last obtained the requisite authorisation to act as assistant-pastor at Herrnhut, whither he returned in that capacity.

CHAPTER XV.

TRAVELS IN DENMARK, HOLLAND, AND PRUSSIA.

THOUGH the first fruits of evangelistic effort at St Thomas had already been gathered in, the faith of those who were connected with that mission was severely tried. A few months after Zinzendorf's return to Herrnhut, the melancholy tidings arrived, that of the eighteen who went forth to that distant field of labour, ten had sunk under the pernicious influences of the climate, added to a terrible series of privations. A general discouragement resulted, and the missionary zeal of the community seemed almost paralysed. Complaints were made against Zinzendorf; and although he had never been very favourable to the undertaking, he was charged with the responsibility of all that had happened. His faith, however, did not fail; and his poetical compositions at this time not only rallied the courage of the Brethren around him, but evoked a more earnest missionary enthusiasm than before.

Up to this time all the missionaries sent out from Herrnhut had been laymen; and hence the rites of baptism and the holy communion had not been observed among the converts abroad. It now became a question whether these rites should still be withheld, or whether laymen should be authorised to administer them. The former alternative

appeared to Zinzendorf contrary to the express commands of Christ ; and there were serious objections to the latter, especially as it might give offence to the local authorities, and thus endanger the very existence of the mission.

It was, therefore, thought desirable that future missionaries should receive consecration before entering on their work. But it was not likely that any Lutheran consistory would lend its sanction to this, because the Moravian missionaries were generally mechanics, or persons of very little education, and it was not customary to lay hands on any candidate till he had been presented to a parish in which his ministry was to be exercised.

Hence the only solution of the difficulty seemed to lie in another direction. The ancient Moravian Brethren had their bishops, who used to perform the office of consecration by imposition of hands ; and might not a bishopric be established at Herrnhut ?

The proposal having been approved by the Brethren, and submitted to the test of the lot, Zinzendorf wrote to Jablonski, the oldest bishop of the Moravian Church, and asked him to confer the episcopal office on David Nitschmann, the carpenter, who had been elected for that purpose. After examining Nitschmann in regard to his faith and his religious experience, and obtaining the consent of Sitkovius, the Moravian bishop of Poland, Jablonski acceded, and ordained the carpenter as bishop of the communities of the Brethren in foreign lands.

Although this measure removed some difficulties, it gave rise to others. A question arose as to the future relation of Herrnhut to the parish of Berthelsdorf, and to the

Lutheran Church generally ; and although Zinzendorf expressly stated that the existing relationships would stand unchanged, many of his own friends strongly objected to the course that had been taken.

This was especially the case at the court of Denmark ; and such was the suspicion cast upon him there, that though he went to Copenhagen with David Nitschmann on purpose to explain matters to King Christian VI., he was not allowed an audience ; and when contrary winds, which overtook him on his homeward passage, cast him on the shores of Sweden, an interdict was immediately published against him, forbidding him to remain on Swedish ground. It so happened that he had quitted that country before this harsh measure of the Government came to his knowledge ; but he immediately drew up an explanatory document addressed to the King of Sweden, and to several of the German princes, the object of which was to show that the Moravian doctrines were in harmony with the Augsburg Confession.

On the 1st of January 1736, Zinzendorf wrote to the King of Denmark, requesting that, if his majesty did not approve of his consecration to the holy ministry, he would permit him to resign the order of the Danebrog. King Christian, instead of accepting his resignation, deprived him of his honours by royal decree, and commanded him to return his insignia to the Danish secretary of state. Zinzendorf refused to do this, but forwarded them to the King himself, accompanied by a dignified letter, expressing his sorrow to find a prince of such good intentions as Christian VI. acting in a spirit of contempt to a servant of God,

who was simply seeking to do God's will ; and he concluded by saying that he regarded the occurrence as a voice from above warning him not to trust in the protection of princes.

The opposition made in some quarters to Zinzendorf's teaching had led him, a short time before his consecration, to submit his religious principles to a thorough examination in the light of Holy Scripture : with this view he called in the assistance of his friends Rothe and Spangenberg, and two other divines then living at Herrnhut, with whom he commenced what he called "Biblical conferences," or conversations on certain portions of the Scriptures in the original. One of the results of these meetings was a translation of the First Epistle of St Paul to Timothy, which the Count published during that year, (1734,) and other fragmentary versions and paraphrases. He had long wished to give the German churches a more exact and modern version than Luther's, and this formed one of the objects contemplated in the conferences ; but Spangenberg tells us that when the four translators compared their renderings with those of the Reformer, they came to the unanimous conclusion that, on the whole, the latter maintained its superiority.

This close investigation of the Scriptures led Zinzendorf to see more clearly than he had done before the essential character of the atoning sacrifice of Christ, and its central position in the system of Christian truth ; and from that time forward the *theology of blood*, as Zinzendorf termed it, became the all-inspiring theme at Herrnhut and in the Moravian churches at large.

While the rest of the Brethren were specially occupied

with foreign missions, Zinzendorf devoted himself to evangelisation on the Continent; and Spangenberg gives an interesting account of a journey that he took on foot about the end of the year 1735. On this occasion he was quite alone, and seems to have enjoyed the opportunity for free and undisturbed communion with Jesus. He had a particularly noble bearing, and generally paced along with his head aloft, quite unconscious of what lay in his path; then sometimes, as if suddenly bethinking himself, he would quicken his steps, and keep his eyes fixed on the ground. But it was no uncommon thing for him to get a severe wound by running against the loose blocks of stone that intercepted the way. What made him still more unfortunate was that he had a habit of giving to every beggar that accosted him, as long as his money lasted; and more than once he was driven to fearful extremities by finding himself penniless. In one instance, he entered a wayside inn in a very exhausted state, and happening to betray that his purse was almost empty, though he himself was not aware of it before, he was sent away hungry as he came; and at another time he was saved from starvation by a peasant, who entertained him in his cottage, and lent him a sufficient sum to carry him to Berlin.

These solitary expeditions, however, were followed by a series of missionary tours of a different kind, in which he was accompanied by the Countess, their eldest daughter, and a numerous suite from Herrnhut. Such was the excitement produced, especially in Holland, partly by his preaching and partly by the imposing establishment that kept moving with him from place to place, that some of

the Lutheran preachers denounced him from the pulpit as a disguised political agitator in the cause of the Prince of Orange. But their opposition was of trifling importance compared with the sequel. He had just left that country, after arranging for the foundation of a Dutch Moravian colony, in accordance with the wishes of the Dowager Princess of Orange, when he found letters awaiting him at Cassel, from which it appeared that the King of Saxony had issued a rescript forbidding him to enter the kingdom; and a little further on, he met David Nitschmann coming to tell him that another rescript had been sent forth commissioning a second inquiry into the affairs of Herrnhut, the object of which evidently was the destruction of the whole Moravian community. Zinzendorf having strictly observed the injunction laid upon him after his former banishment, not to receive any new immigrants at Herrnhut, and nothing having occurred there to account for the King's displeasure, it was evident that some enemies had been at work; and the course now taken by the Government convinced Zinzendorf that the dreaded catastrophe was not far off.

Under these circumstances, it might have been expected that Zinzendorf would have sent his friends at Herrnhut some instructions as to how they should act in his absence, when the Royal Commissioners made their appearance. But he abstained from everything of the kind. He believed that the Saviour's promise, Matthew x. 18-20,*

* "And ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them and the Gentiles. But when they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak. For it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you."

applied to this case, and that it was his duty to leave the cause entirely in the hands of God. And his faith was rewarded. While the world was waiting to hear the sentence of condemnation pronounced on the whole community, the new commission, having brought its inquiries to a close, delivered a unanimously favourable judgment; and although the Government kept the inhabitants of Herrnhut in a cruel suspense of fifteen months, a decree at last came forth guaranteeing the preservation of their institutions, "so long as they adhered to the Augsburg Confession."

The banishment of the Count, which remained in force, was the means of giving a more decided and permanent form to his evangelistic operations. He interpreted it as a fresh call from God to missionary labour; and he soon became surrounded by a kind of pilgrim company, partly consisting of his own family, and partly of others who were interested in his movements and wished to make common cause with him in his work. The Count was responsible for all the expenses connected with this ambulant society, the Countess managing its temporal affairs with extraordinary tact, and making the most of her husband's resources. Those who had means of their own provided themselves with clothes and other necessities; and the rest were assisted as their cases required. In this way Zinzendorf and his suite proceeded from place to place, scattering the good seed of the Word as they went, till a resting-place was offered them in the old decaying castle of Ronneburg, near Frankfort.

After a few weeks of labour among the poor cottagers

around this miserable habitation, Zinzendorf left the Countess in charge of their household, and undertook a journey which brought him into personal contact with the King of Prussia. On his way homeward from Riga, he wrote to Frederick-William I., asking permission to make some efforts for the spiritual good of some emigrants from Salzburg, who had found a refuge in the Prussian States. Frederick-William, though little inclined to favour any kind of innovation, especially in matters of religion, had heard so much about Zinzendorf, that he was curious to see him; and on Zinzendorf's arrival in Berlin, he found an autograph letter from the King, inviting him to the Castle of Wusterhausen, where the court was then assembled.

Frederick-William soon found that his visitor was not at all the man he had expected to see. He kept him at the Castle three days. The first day the King's manner was cold and distant, though he questioned Zinzendorf closely; the second day he talked more freely to him; and before the third was over he told the Queen and the court that what had been said about Zinzendorf was utterly false. "The devil," he exclaimed, "could not have invented a more daring lie than what I have heard about this man! He is no heretic or disturber. His only crime is, that he has resigned the honours of nobility for the service of the gospel."

In the course of these interviews with the King, Zinzendorf had requested him to appoint some competent ecclesiastical Prussian authority to examine his doctrinal views, and to report on the question of their orthodoxy; for

although they had been endorsed by the Faculty at Tübingen, this did not invest them with any formal authorisation elsewhere, the churches of the various German States being virtually independent. Hence it was that, after being examined in Wurtemberg, the Count submitted his theology to a similar test at Stralsund, which then belonged to Sweden, and was anxious to do the same in Saxony and in Prussia.

Frederick-William readily assented to Zinzendorf's wish, and wrote as follows to Jablonski:—

“I have now seen Count Zinzendorf myself; I have conversed with him, and find him to be a thoroughly honest and sensible man, who simply aims to propagate true Christianity, and the wholesome doctrine of the Word of God.

“I therefore wish that when you see him in Berlin you would examine with him the matters that he has to lay before you, and make your report thereupon to me.”

The King gave like instructions to two Lutheran divines in the Prussian capital; and Zinzendorf having placed all necessary materials in the hands of his judges, repaired to Frankfort, whither the Countess had found it necessary to remove on account of the opposition she encountered at Ronneburg.

While fanning the flame of religious zeal which had been recently kindled among all parties in Frankfort, he did his utmost to check the spirit of disunion that he discovered among the representatives of the Protestant faith. The leaders of the revival were then agitating the question of separation from the Established Church, on account of lack

of spiritual life and evangelical doctrine, and they consulted Zinzendorf as to the course they should pursue. Zinzendorf's answer was characteristic :—

“ Since you are Lutherans, as your letter states, remain Lutherans ; for your King was a Jew, and he remained a Jew. Do not be frightened because there are bad doctors in the Church. In the time of Christ, some of them were hypocrites, some were orthodox, some lived as hermits, some were Pietists, and there were even mockers and unbelievers, who said that there was neither spirit nor resurrection, (for the Scriptures expressly state this in reference to a party of Jewish priests.) But in spite of all this, Jesus never separated.”

The grounds on which this advice was founded may be gathered more fully from a letter that he wrote long before this period.

“ From my earliest childhood,” the Count remarks in that letter, “ I have had but one end in view, namely, to glorify Christ crucified, and that *literally*, without entering into the discussions raised by different religions.* I know no foundation but Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God ; but I can get on very well with all who build on this foundation, whatever difference there may be in their way of building. When there was a proposal to unite the three principal religions, I worked for it, and the prelates of France did not disapprove of my views. When an attempt was made between the two Protestant religions to join hands, I did not stand aloof. But I have learnt that the

* Zinzendorf often uses the term “ religion ” in the sense of *confession*, or *religious communion*.

kingdom of God is within us. I was born in the Church called *evangelical*. I find its doctrines passable; and as to its practice, it does not appear to me that any other visible Church is much before it. Hence I remain where I am. While continuing in this religion, I testify against its defects; but in regard to other religions I do not pursue that course. I endeavour to accommodate myself to them as much as my conscience allows."

The following incident, however, shows that Zinzendorf's forbearance was not without limits.

There was a noted man of the name of Andrew Goss among the Separatists at Frankfort, who had lost some of his followers through Zinzendorf's preaching; and who, having first gratified his revenge by an attack on the Count himself, sought to unsettle the converts, and to destroy the peace of mind that they were enjoying. In regard to the personal injury, Zinzendorf merely expostulated with the offender in a fraternal spirit. But when he saw the spiritual happiness of others endangered, he lost his usual moderation, and hurled an anathema at the author of the mischief. He declared that if this man should cause the fall of one of those whom the Lord had brought into a state of grace by his ministry, he would certainly die in the course of that year.

However we may explain an act which presented such a striking contrast to Zinzendorf's ordinary deportment—whether it may be looked upon as a burst of holy indignation inspired by the Spirit of God, or as one of those occurrences which serve to remind us of the imperfection and weakness attaching to the best of men—it is certain

that the threat alarmed and restrained Goss. But while Zinzendorf afterwards blamed himself for the hatred he had displayed towards the spirit of fanaticism, there were plenty of opponents to take advantage of the circumstance, who accused him of affecting the right to use the power of God in support of his own cause; and said that the rash words he had uttered were strangely at variance with the spirit of Christ. In reply to a formal indictment drawn up by Goss, Zinzendorf made the following candid explanation.

"It is true," he said, "that the Lord Jesus did not call down fire from heaven on those who refused to receive Him, and on this point we have nothing to answer for. But it is not true that He was as indifferent as Mr Goss represents Him, in regard to those who seduced souls. 'Whoever,' He says, 'shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.'* St Paul, too, who knew what it was to be gentle as a nurse, said, 'I would they were even cut off which trouble you.'† And again, speaking of Hymenæus and Alexander, he says that he has 'delivered them to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme.'"‡

"I have to thank the Saviour," he continues, "for three things, among others, that He has graciously granted me in the exercise of my ministry; and I can speak of them all the more freely, because there are always people enough to contradict me if I exaggerate. The first is, that in admitting new members to our little community, so far from

* Mark ix. 42.

† Gal. v. 12.

‡ 1 Tim. i. 20.

having been hasty, I have always been very timid and scrupulous. The second is, that I find it absolutely impossible to hate any one that I know hates me. I cannot answer for my feelings to-morrow ; but I can say what they have been up to the present time. The third thing is, that when I see souls that really possess grace, or that are in the true way to it, turned aside or injured, then my spirit groans within me, and in such cases I cannot answer for what I may say to the Lord about those who have occasioned the evil ; I may even have it in my mind to ask their excommunication. But then I give the guilty persons notice, and before presenting the case to the Saviour, I tell them plainly what I intend to do, that they may have time to reflect. . . . It would be useless for me to make myself out better in this respect than I am, for every one knows my mode of action, and I am not at all disposed to change it."

Before Zinzendorf left Frankfort, he invited the elders of Herrnhut and a number of Brethren who were working for God in various directions, to meet for conference. The assembly took place in a manorial residence at Marienborn, near Frankfort, belonging to one of Zinzendorf's relatives, and it constituted the first synod of the new Church of the Brethren. Soon after this he set out for Amsterdam, intending to make that the starting-point for England.

CHAPTER XVI.

ZINZENDORF IN ENGLAND.

THE Count had no sooner touched the shores of Great Britain than the "Association for the Instruction of the Negroes in the British Plantations" sought his aid in procuring the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The prelate readily yielded to this request, saying that the personal acquaintance he had now formed with Count Zinzendorf had greatly strengthened the favourable opinion he had long entertained of the Moravian communities.

Zinzendorf did not preach in England, but opened his family worship to visitors who chose to attend, and thus laid the foundation of the future Moravian Church in this country. But it was remarkable that, before he planted his foot on British soil, the influence of the body with which he was identified was already impressing itself upon the religious experience of the men who soon became the prime movers in the great spiritual awakening of the eighteenth century. About fifteen months before Zinzendorf's arrival in England, John and Charles Wesley had been in Georgia, seeking to convert the heathen of that land. In referring to this missionary journey, John Wesley afterwards said:—"It is now two years and almost four months since I left

my native country, in order to teach the Georgian Indians the nature of Christianity. But what have I learned myself in the meantime! Why, (what I least of all suspected,) that I, who went to America to convert others, was never myself converted to God.* The ship that bore John Wesley happened to be the very one in which the missionary colonists from Herrnhut had embarked.

In the course of the voyage they encountered a storm, to which he refers as follows:—

“At four o'clock in the afternoon, the storm redoubled its violence. . . . At seven I went to the Germans. I had long before observed the great seriousness of their behaviour. Of their humility they had given a continual proof, by performing those servile offices for the other passengers which none of the English would undertake; for which they desired and would receive no pay, saying, ‘it was good for their proud hearts,’ and ‘their loving Saviour had done more for them;’ and every day had given occasion of showing a meekness which no injury could remove.

“If they were pushed, struck, or thrown down, they rose again, and went away; but no complaint was found in their mouth. There was now an opportunity of trying whether they were delivered from the spirit of fear, as well as from that of pride, anger, and revenge. In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English. The Germans calmly sang on. I asked one of

* Journal of John Wesley, vol. i. p. 75.

them afterwards, 'Were you not afraid?' He answered, 'I thank God, no.' I asked, 'But were not your women and children afraid?' He replied mildly, 'No, our women and children are not afraid to die.'"*

In Georgia John Wesley became acquainted with Spangenberg; and Charles, who returned to Europe first, saw Zinzendorf several times during his stay in London. The result was a deep conviction on the part of both the brothers that they wanted power to render their ministry effective. Another instrument, however, was chosen of God to lead the Wesleys into the full light of the gospel.

A young Moravian minister of the name of Peter Böhler, who was on a visit to England previous to his departure for the missionary work in Georgia, was the Ananias who caused the scales to fall from the eyes of these modern apostles. Like Luther, he made the Scriptures his court of appeal, and after many earnest conversations, in which he met their philosophic difficulties with the simple Word of God, he had the joy of seeing them fully embrace the vital doctrine of justification by faith.

Thus a close relationship was originated between the Wesleys and the Moravians, and they held their weekly religious meetings unitedly, till they became separated by doctrinal differences, John Wesley considering that some of the views held by Zinzendorf and his friends bordered too closely on Antinomianism, while Zinzendorf objected to Wesley's doctrine of sinless perfection.

In spite, however, of this divergence in certain minor

* Journal of John Wesley, vol. i. p. 206.

articles of belief, sentiments of esteem and affection continued to be cherished on both sides.

The biographer of Charles Wesley writes as follows:—

“The Wesleyan connexion owes to the Moravian Brethren a debt of respect and grateful affection which can never be repaid. Mr John and Mr Charles Wesley, with all their excellences, were neither holy nor happy till they were taught by Peter Böhler that men are saved from sin, its guilt, dominion, and misery, by faith in Christ,—a faith which is the inspired gift of the Holy Ghost, exercised in a penitent state of heart, and immediately followed by the inward witness of God’s adopting mercy. . . . During the last hundred years, this doctrine has ever been the most prominent subject of the Methodist ministry, in the United Kingdom, on the American continent, and in the wide mission-field. The faithful, affectionate, and experimental inculcation of this doctrine has unquestionably been, under God, the great secret of the power and success of Methodist preaching. God, in the merciful dispensation of His providence, might, indeed, by other means, have given the Wesleys a knowledge of this essential element of evangelic truth—but He did not. Peter Böhler was the honoured instrument of imparting this benefit to the brothers, and consequently to the millions of their spiritual children.”*

Zinzendorf, in a note that he appended to a work published in English by the Moravian Church in 1724, asked the Wesleys to forgive him for the judgment he had passed on them, observing that, as the Wesleys were not members

* Jackson’s “Life of Charles Wesley,” vol. i., p. 282.

of the community of the Brethren, the latter had no right to judge them.

Whitefield also, who had, for a considerable time, associated with the Moravians, and asked their assistance in regard to his orphan-house in Georgia, withdrew from them, and even published a pamphlet against Zinzendorf. Zinzendorf was urged to reply, but abstained from doing so. "Whitefield," he said, "is a man whose preaching may yet do good to a great many people, and I would not write a word to detract from the esteem in which he is held."

CHAPTER XVII.

EXCITEMENT IN BERLIN.

ON leaving England, Zinzendorf proceeded to Frankfort; but finding that the meetings he had founded had just been forbidden by the magistrate at the request of the consistory, he hastened to Berlin, where the royal commissioners had met to examine his doctrinal views. The report presented to the King was entirely satisfactory; but the examiners declined to give any opinion as to whether Zinzendorf's request for episcopal consecration should be granted. The King, however, on the advice of Jablonski, gave his consent, and the consecration took place on the 20th of May 1737, Jablonski and Nitschmann officiating. The King of Prussia and the Archbishop of Canterbury testified their sympathy by letters of congratulation.

Although the ceremony had been performed very quietly in the house of Jablonski, it made a great sensation in the Prussian capital, and reports were spread that the King was about to nominate the new bishop as minister of public worship. Zinzendorf, however, had no thoughts of secular advancement, but cut short all the busy speculations of the curious by applying for permission to return to Saxony.

His application being supported by Marshal Natzmer,

his father-in-law, was for the moment successful, and the Count soon reappeared among his old friends at Herrnshut. But though the electoral government thus yielded to the powerful intercession that Zinzendorf had secured, immediate measures were taken to render the indulgence null and void. He was challenged to sign a document binding him to a certain course for the future. To this he would have had no objection; but the framers of the bond took care to introduce clauses which the Count could not conscientiously sign, because they tended directly to criminate himself; and when he pleaded for modifications, King Augustus III. peremptorily refused them, and published an edict condemning Zinzendorf to perpetual banishment.

Hardly expecting such an arbitrary decision as this, the Count had voluntarily withdrawn to the city of Berlin; and while waiting the sentence of his sovereign, had devoted himself to the work he loved. A great desire was expressed by many around him to be admitted to the daily religious services held in his house for the benefit of his own family. But wishing to avoid anything that might be objected to as a departure from the established order of things, he closed his doors against all strangers, until he found that not a single pastor in the city would venture to admit him to a pulpit. Under these circumstances, he felt that, as a minister of Christ, he had no alternative, and his spacious rooms became crowded, day after day, by eager auditors of every rank and age. The street in which his house stood was lined with carriages, and he was obliged to throw open an anteroom to admit the constantly increasing numbers,

until a large garret at the top of the house came into requisition; and eventually the division of the sexes had to be adopted, in order to limit the congregations. But even then the hearers were compelled to stand, in order to economise the space.

These addresses, which were given every day for four months, could hardly be called sermons. They were extemporary and conversational expositions of four leading subjects to which Zinzendorf professed to confine himself. 1. *The essential, sole, and eternal divinity of Him who became man.* 2. *The essential, real, and complete humanity of God who is in heaven.* 3. *Grace, the only means of salvation for men, and the pardon of every sin by the merits of the sacrificed Lamb.* 4. *The precious privilege that Jesus obtained for us by His blood, namely, deliverance from sin, and the power to lead a spiritual life.*

"My preparation," said Zinzendorf, when speaking of these discourses, "is the wretchedness and poverty that I feel during the hour before I speak; this sometimes reaches such a point that, when I am going up to the garret, I hardly know where I am; but the moment I begin, I feel the coals from the altar. . . . I have never before spoken with such freedom as I do here. My hearers often shed tears, and even the soldiers weep with the rest. May the Saviour make these impressions lasting!

"The pastors openly preach against me. There is not a single one of them in our favour. The whole city is in commotion. The king's courtiers are making every effort to ruin us. Some do it without any concealment, and others are at work behind the scenes. It is said that

M. Roloff* has written to the king, asking his aid against a man who causes so much disturbance. But the king must have told him to let me alone.

"Before I speak, some one gives out a hymn. After the discourse, I generally announce another one appropriate to the subject. When I cannot find one, I compose one; I say, in the Saviour's name, what comes into my heart.

"I am, as ever, a poor sinner, a captive of eternal love, running by the side of His triumphal chariot, and have no desire to be anything else as long as I live."

With these few touches of his pencil, Zinzendorf has drawn a complete picture of himself. He stands before us under the mastery of that love which possessed him when a child, and its kindling influence breathes from his lips into the heart of every one that hears him. There, too, is the congregation touched by the sacred fire; and in the background are the envious and the curious; while all without is agitation and wonder.

One of Zinzendorf's constant attendants was a student from Jena, named Langguth, afterwards his son-in-law. Langguth had come to Berlin in charge of the Count's eldest son, now ten years of age, who had been at school in Jena. Day after day this young man might be seen trying to take down the Count's discourses. His notes were very imperfect, and often blotted with tears. But the Count decided to have them printed, as he found that incorrect reports of these discourses were already in circulation, some

* One of the clerical commissioners appointed to examine Zinzendorf's creed.

of which made a variety of alterations in what he had said, and others were purely fictitious.

The *Berlin Discourses* soon passed through a large number of editions, and were translated into several languages; they have had a very large circulation, and are still extensively read.* It is needless to say that they were little calculated to please the fastidious theologians of that age. Incautious expressions used in the excitement of the moment, and peculiar points of view occasionally adopted by the Count, were made the subject of grave accusation, and efforts were made to drag the king into the controversy. His majesty sent for Zinzendorf; and having heard his explanation as to the passages complained of, expressed his entire satisfaction, and said that he would never hear another word against him.

Before the Count left Berlin, he was pressed, by certain inhabitants of the city, to form them into a community like that of Herrnhut. But he refused to sanction their leaving the Church to which they belonged, or to alienate them from the spiritual superintendence of their own pastors, and only consented to organise a society of Brethren within the Lutheran Church, conformably to the constitution and customs of that body.

During his stay in Berlin the Count also presided over a synod that he convened for the special purpose of promoting missions to the heathen. Fresh missionaries were sent to St Thomas, to Ceylon, Surinam, Rio-de-Berbigue, and to South America. A journey to the Caucasus and to Mount Ararat, where it was supposed that a number of Moravian

* See Appendix.

emigrants had settled, was also talked of ; and the question of Jewish missions was discussed. Some time afterwards, Leonard Dober spontaneously commenced the work of evangelisation among the Jews of Amsterdam.

The views of the Count on the subject of Jewish evangelisation were not very decided, and he sometimes questioned whether the time was come for their conversion. But he was quite of opinion that Dober could not fail to be made a blessing to them, if he avoided useless argument, and contented himself with living among them as a man of God, preaching Christ to them, and praying for them. Zinzendorf was particularly fond of the Jews. He loved them for the sake of Christ, who was a Jew ; and whenever he met with any of them, he showed them great kindness. In the litany that he composed for the Church of the Brethren, he made express mention of the people of Israel. When the Jewish day of atonement came round, year by year, he always asked the community to remember them in prayer, and he often made them the subject of discourse. A beautiful prayer of his own is on record, which he offered on one of these occasions in the year 1738.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WESTWARD TO THE RESCUE.

WHEN the decision of the King of Saxony reached Zinzen-dorf, and he found that he was finally exiled from his own country, he received the sentence as an indication of the Divine will, and at once resolved to carry out a plan that had long been in his thoughts. He had often been reproached for the part he had taken in promoting the enterprise of the first missionaries to St Thomas, who had fallen victims to the climate of that island, and he now desired to prove that he was not afraid to brave the dangers they had so nobly encountered.

In anticipation of a prolonged absence, he hired the castle of Marienborn as a residence for his family, and had the gratification of seeing a new settlement rise up in that neighbourhood, as a rallying point for those Brethren who were attached to the confession of the Reformed Church. This colony took the name of *Herrnhaag*, and stood to the Reformed Church in the same relation as Herrnhut had done to the Lutheran communion. So that while the Society of the United Brethren maintained its own independent existence, it embraced the two great divisions of the Protestant world.

The Count and his Countess took leave of one another

in the autumn of 1728, and after some detention by reason of bad weather, Zinzendorf reached St Thomas on the 29th of January 1729. In this self-denying separation from those whom he most dearly loved, we find him maintaining a constant communion with the friend of his earliest days. "We poured out our soul," he says, in reference to his conversations with Jesus at this period, "in free and familiar intercourse with the Saviour, and we could not restrain our tears when we thought how near He is to us, what simplicity is permitted us in approaching Him, how we can pass a whole day with Him, how there is not a thought, or a want, or a care that we may not communicate to Him more freely than we could do to the most intimate friend. In coming to Him it is a comfort to know that the inmost recesses of our hearts are open to His view, and nothing passes there but He knows it."

A curious example of this freedom with the Saviour occurred at the very outset of Zinzendorf's voyage. He was subject to sea-sickness, and was very anxious to be preserved from it on this occasion, as he had a number of things on hand that he wished to attend to during the passage. "As I had a great deal to do," he states, "I told the Saviour what a hindrance it would be to me to be ill so long, and I was in fact cured before we set sail."

Zinzendorf found the mission at St Thomas in a deplorable state. The missionaries had been well received by the negroes, nine hundred of whom had been converted to Christ. But the planters were displeased, and not only laid heavier burdens than before on their slaves, but took every means in their power to put an end to the preaching

of the gospel. They complained to the governor that the missionaries wanted to make the negroes better Christians than their masters, and finding that the Moravians objected to take an oath, they made this a handle against them, and threw them into prison. There they had passed three weary months, and were beginning to despair when Zinzendorf arrived. The first negro he met was stopped and interrogated about the missionaries from Germany; and on hearing how matters stood, Zinzendorf at once applied to the governor for their release. The governor supposing that the noble author of this request was still in favour at the Danish court, immediately sent an officer to conduct the missionaries to the Count's lodging, and on their entering the room where he was sitting, Zinzendorf rose and bowed to them, and kissed the hand of each one, that the messenger who had accompanied them might see the esteem and affection in which he held them.

The next day the governor paid his respects in person to Zinzendorf, and made the best apology he could for the incarceration of the missionaries. He said that it had been done without his authority, and that the unruly spirit of the colonists was often beyond his control.

Zinzendorf did not care to urge the matter further, but simply asked permission to interest himself in the negroes during his stay in the island, and this being granted, he at once set to work.

Devotional meetings were resumed, and the slaves came in crowds after their long day's work was done, to listen to the merciful message of the gospel. The services were necessarily fixed at a late hour, and the voice of praise

ascending from the glad hearts of these poor sons of toil, might often be heard in the deep silence of the night, like the songs of Paul and Silas in the jail at Philippi.

Up to this time, the missionaries had not been able to obtain a foot of ground as their own, and consequently they had often been at a loss for a place to meet in. The Count, after some difficulty, succeeded in purchasing a house with a small plantation, which was set apart for the use of the mission. But the whites were so enraged at the new turn of affairs, that they organised a sudden and cruel attack on the helpless blacks one evening while they were at worship, and forcibly dispersed them.

As the governor could not prevent these outrages, or pretended that he could not, Zinzendorf thought the only course now left him was to lay the whole matter before the Government at Copenhagen.

After a stay of only three weeks, he embarked for Amsterdam, accompanied by a Dane and a converted negro that he had bought. Just as they were about to move out of the harbour, a Portuguese Jew, who was wanting to go to Holland, begged Zinzendorf to help him. Zinzendorf, in the generosity of his heart, at once paid the poor man's passage and that of his wife, and gave up his cabin for their accommodation.

Zinzendorf soon found that his new acquaintance was a very intelligent and open-hearted man, and took a great fancy to him. They generally spent the whole evening in conversation. Zinzendorf said little in the way of controversy, but spoke of what was uppermost in his own heart, and told Da Costa,—for that was the Jew's name,—of the

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intense affection he felt for the Saviour, Da Costa was thus irresistibly drawn by the power of love, and involuntarily blended his sympathies and prayers with those of his friend.

During the whole of his voyage, the Count kept hard at work, studying, writing letters, composing hymns, and other matters for the press, and apparently indifferent to the rolling of the ship, though it often blotted his writing and made it almost illegible. But his health was sadly disordered; and after seven weeks on the ocean, during which he had eaten but little, and seldom slept, he landed at Dover in a state of feverish prostration. But the business which brought him to Europe was urgent, and he hastened, after a few days, to lay the case of the oppressed negroes before the authorities in Denmark.

His first resting-place was in Holland. As he passed through this country on his way westward, he had found the Dutch pastors almost unanimously against him; and such were the erroneous representations then made in the pastoral letter which they published, as to the religious doctrines and practices at Herrnhut, that he had simply said in answering, "I do not know the Herrnhut to which this description applies." The storm had by no means subsided. Pamphlet after pamphlet had come out, each one bringing some fresh charge against the Brethren. Zinzendorf seems to have felt all this deeply, and says, in writing to a friend at the time, that he often asked the Saviour, whether it were not possible for this bitter cup to be taken from him,—“bitter,” he remarks, “for my brethren and for myself—perhaps good for me, but hurt-

ful to them." Some persons had even spread a report of his death, as if to try and break the few bonds existing between him and his friends.

It was remarkable, however, that he should have left St Thomas when he did; for after his departure, an order arrived from the Danish king, commanding that he should be arrested and imprisoned. The ship that conveyed this royal mandate had been detained by contrary winds, and had only reached the West India Islands as Zinzendorf came in sight of the white cliffs of England.

From Holland the Count rejoined his family at Marienborn; and although his altered appearance told too plainly of the combined effects of toil and sorrow, his presence among the Brethren in the new colony excited unbounded joy. He was called away for a brief interval to attend a conference at Ebersdorf, in which he decidedly opposed the plans of organisation then entertained by some of the Brethren in Germany. The large number of conversions that had recently taken place in several German towns had led them to think of withdrawing from the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, to one or other of which most of them belonged, and of constituting themselves into a distinct ecclesiastical body. Zinzendorf strongly objected to separation, and maintained the importance of seeking to win souls to Christ in all communions, rather than to build up some one denomination at the expense of others. But he found it no easy task to carry his views with men who were in the very heat of a recent revival, and were full of schemes for external consolidation and extension, and he left them only half persuaded. On his return to Marien-

born, he wore himself out with excessive labours, and utter prostration supervened. His medical attendant, to make matters worse, prescribed a soothing draught; but it so happened that a stimulant was administered by mistake, and thus he was saved. The moment he recovered he gave himself with more ardour than ever to the active service of God, and originated a Theological Seminary at Herrnhag, based on the principles of the Augsburg Confession, the first students being some young men who had come from Jena with his son, Christian Ernest. Among other objects pertaining to internal organisation, he also built a house for the occupation of unmarried Brethren. This afforded a new subject of criticism to his assailants; for although the inmates neither took vows nor adopted the principle of community of goods, they were suspected of Popish leanings, and Zinzendorf had to bear the blame.

While these home efforts were in process, the flame of missionary zeal did not decline. The Mohicans were followed in their prairie wanderings with the message of the gospel; and an attempt was made to plant its standard in Ceylon among the Cingalese and the Malays. In the latter case the zeal of the Brethren was only rendered abortive by the *Pastoral Letter*, which had found its way from Holland to those distant shores. The Count had his eye also on the Greeks and Armenians, and sent a deputation to the Sultan at Constantinople to secure his approval of a movement in that direction. The Sultan did more than he was asked, and sent a circular letter to the prelates of the East, representing the Moravian Church as in actual union with the Greek hierarchy. This was going much too far for the

real interests of the cause, and Zinzendorf thought it best to retreat.

Zinzendorf was a busy writer. Spangenberg gives a list of his published works, amounting to a hundred and eight. Among those issued about this period (1739) one of the most important was his *Essai de Traduction du Nouveau Testament, d'après l'original*, the chief part of which was composed on his voyage to the West Indies. This circumstance, added to the fact that he had no opportunity of correction, as the work was carried through the press during his illness, will account, in a great measure, for its numerous imperfections. It must also be remembered that he only intended it as a tentative effort; and in his modest Preface he asks to be set right where he has erred. "We desire," he says, "to be treated like a scholar saying his lesson." The literary merits of this performance were, as might be expected, severely criticised, and it was pronounced in many points heretical; but Zinzendorf, instead of defending himself, simply withdrew all the copies he could lay hold of, and bravely set to work on a new edition, which appeared in 1744. Meantime his first translation was followed almost immediately by two other volumes, one entitled *Conversations on various Religious Truths*, and the other, *Jeremiah the Preacher of Righteousness*. The latter, composed, like the translation, amidst the tossings of the Atlantic, is one of the best known, and the most interesting of the productions of his pen. It is addressed to the clergy, the object being to suggest means for the arousal and purification of the degenerate Church of that age.

It was a rare thing for Zinzendorf to indulge in recreation ; but before the new edition of his Testament could be proceeded with, it was found necessary for him to suspend all sedentary occupation ; and he left Marienborn, with his friend Frederick, at Christmas 1739, for a brief tour in Switzerland, which very nearly cost him his life. The snow was so deep on the roads, that in their journey from Berne to Montmirail, near Neufchatel, he and his companion lost their way, and wandered the whole night in a pathless wood. They eventually reached Montmirail in a state of great exhaustion, and were heartily welcomed by Nicholas Watteville, whom the Count had met in Paris twenty years before, but had not seen since that time. The news of Count Zinzendorf's arrival created quite an excitement. Watteville's wife was terribly frightened at the idea of entertaining such a formidable person as she had imagined the Count to be ; and she was agreeably surprised when she found what a genial and sociable being he was. Zinzendorf took this opportunity of visiting the aged Baron Watteville, the father of his two friends, with whom he had long corresponded ; and he also made the acquaintance of an eminent Bernese pastor, Samuel Lucius (Lutz), who laboured in the village of Diesbach.

CHAPTER XIX.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

ZINZENDORF met with a cordial reception as he passed through Berne, Basle, and Schaffhausen on his way homeward. In a letter he wrote from Basle to a friend in Nuremberg, he says:—

“ It is more than thirty years since I received a deep impression of Divine grace, through the preaching of the cross. The desire to bring souls to Jesus took possession of me, and my heart became fixed on the Lamb. It is true that I have not always taken the same road to come to Him; for at Halle I went to Him directly, at Wittemberg through morality, at Dresden through philosophy, and after that through an endeavour to follow His steps. It was not till after the happy establishment of the community of Herrnhut, and since the affair with Dippel, that I came to Him through the simple doctrine of His sufferings and His death.

“ I have uniformly acted from love to Jesus, and without any secondary motive. To seek to make myself a name through the cause of God was no part of my character; I was fond of horses and grandeur, and my nature would have prompted me to emulate the glory of Xenophon, or

Brutus, or Seneca. My education, too, strengthened by the example of my father and my ancestors, would have led me in this direction. But I was perfectly aware that the teaching of Jesus was not the way to arrive at such an end; and I sacrificed all that to Him. Then, my progress has been somewhat slow and irregular. As I had no guide, and in our days we do not understand Scripture as it is, but as it has been twisted and paraphrased, I allowed myself to be directed by the examples of the saints, and not by principles.

“ Although, in 1711, 1714, 1717, 1719, and 1721, I felt the power of grace within me, and was as certain of my salvation as of my existence, I listened to the assertion of M. Mischke, who told me that I was not converted. I then commenced a kind of struggle, which I now feel was not necessary, but which, at all events, had a happy issue. From that time I often felt that God had sealed my salvation and my adoption, and I felt it so powerfully that I ceased to entertain any fear of falling by this means into spiritual pride. It has always been the blood of Jesus Christ that has brought me to this state of assurance. I have passed through a hundred times more agony and tears than I would ever require of any sinner. The course I followed may, perhaps, be justified, inasmuch as it served me in my special vocation; but I consider it, nevertheless, absurd, and it is a roundabout way that I would advise every one to avoid.

“ As to a general plan, I have none. I follow the Saviour year after year, and I gladly do what has to be done. But I sometimes have a particular plan for a year or two, arising out of some special occurrence. Thus, for example,

I am aiming to preserve to the Saviour the Moravian Church (which originated without me), and not to allow it to fall into the wolf's mouth while I live or after I am gone, so far as I can prevent it. Another of my plans is to seek as many of the heathen as I can, with a view to their partaking in the blood which has been shed for all the world; and I have resolved to do my utmost in fulfilment of the Saviour's last wishes (John xvii.), by uniting the children of God wherever they are outwardly gathered together. I am not seeking to bring them into the Moravian community—far from that, I work in an opposite direction; but into that universal community into which the Moravian sect will ultimately have to be fused, when it has finished the task now committed to it. I have resolved to bring as many souls as I can to the knowledge of sin and grace. I love to ascend the pulpit, and I have sometimes ridden fifty miles for that purpose. I had, in fact, resolved to unite all the children of God now separated from each other, and pursued this object uninterruptedly from 1717 to 1739. But now I give it up; for I not only see that I do no good by it, but I begin to observe that there is a mystery of Divine providence connected with the matter."

No apology need be made for the quotation of this letter at full length, as it gives the reader a better insight into Zinzendorf's character than many passages of historical narrative would supply. The constitutive principle of a man's life is the estimate he forms of it—the impression it produces on him. What he aims at is, to say the least, as important as what he accomplishes. And in this view it

is interesting and instructive to peruse the correspondence that passed between him and the King of Prussia when that monarch's days were drawing to a close.

Having learnt of the illness of Frederick-William, Zinzendorf wrote to him as follows :—

“ Will your Majesty condescend kindly to receive this letter, and to listen to my very humble request. I cannot be thankful enough to your Majesty for all the kindness that you have shown me ; and as your Majesty is often ill, I cannot help manifesting my deep gratitude by telling you, in all sincerity, how fully persuaded I am that my crucified Saviour can become all in all to you. The conversations that I have had with your Majesty plainly prove to me that you have put needless difficulties in your own way, as others generally do. Though your Majesty has caused the Redeemer as much sorrow as I have, I believe that, as He has received me, a poor sinner, He will receive you also, if you wish it with all your heart. I am not yielding to the spirit of presumption, nor acting at the instigation of others, for no one knows anything of this letter ; and I would very humbly pray you to destroy it or to return it to me, and, in the latter case, to write at the end of it *Yes* or *No*, according to whether you think proper to grant or to refuse me your authority for interfering in the concerns of your soul. I will be entirely ruled by the wish that your Majesty may deign to express. And I hope your Majesty will understand the loyalty of my intention, and will keep to yourself what I have said, as it would appear ridiculous in the eyes of the world. As far as I am concerned, no one

but the Lord shall know of the step that I have taken, or of such as may follow hereafter.

"I remain, with the most profound respect, but with a respect which does not exclude the most perfect frankness, your Majesty's very humble, faithful, and devoted

"ZINZENDORF.

"MARIENBORN, NEAR FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN,
24th February 1740:"

The King pencilled in his own hand, at the back of the letter, the answer that he wished to be returned:—

"Tell him that I am much obliged to him for the good advice he gives me; that I am at peace with God and my Saviour, to whose grace I trust for my temporal and spiritual well-being; that I repent of my sins; and that I will strive more and more to get rid of them, at least, as far as human weakness can, and to show myself grateful to God; that I have never been a man to hang down my head like a hypocrite, and I do not intend to become one, for I do not believe that to be right; that I forgive all my enemies with all my heart."

A letter was drawn up from this memorandum, and the King signed it, adding with his own hand:—"I await the answer."

The Count replied on the 15th of March:—

"Your Majesty has deigned, by your letter of the 5th inst., to permit and to command me to reply. But I hardly

know how you would wish me to do it. Am I to confirm the satisfaction your Majesty expresses as to your spiritual state? or must I openly tell you the doubts that the reading of this letter awakened in my mind? I will do nothing hurriedly, but will await a special command from your Majesty; and till then I will not cease to pray to my beloved Saviour for you. I will ask Him to grant that, if your Majesty is in such a state as He would have you to be, grace may be given you to remain so for ever. If, on the contrary, He would wish me to lay before your Majesty the thoughts that occurred to me on reading what you have written, may He operate on the heart of your Majesty as He sees needful! Little is required; but that little is indispensable; and as there are millions of Christians who do not find it, the work of salvation, though intended for all men, remains a mystery.—I am,” &c.

The King replied, on the 22d of March, as follows:—

“MY VERY DEAR COUNT,—I have duly received your letter of the 15th inst., informing me that mine to you has given rise to certain *doubts* in your mind. You will gratify me by a candid statement of them, and by pointing out what you think is wrong in my profession of faith.—I am ever your very affectionate,

“FREDERICK-WILLIAM.”

On the receipt of this request, Zinzendorf lost no time in forwarding to the King the following explanation of his views:—

“MARIENBORN, 4th April 1740.

“Your Majesty doubtless knows the secret of my boldness in undertaking to address you again. Your Majesty knows the love I feel towards your soul, and you can understand how little confidence I can place in my own zeal—what need I have to be afraid of undertaking anything to which I am not called—and the respect due to a king—all rendering it difficult for me to write to you. But you have condescended to invite me to further correspondence. This indulgence, of which I am unworthy, perplexes me, and will effectually serve to guard me against theological pride in throwing my heart at the Saviour’s feet, to implore of Him what is good for you.

“When we love any one we do not long hesitate to urge on them the use of the remedy that we have found effective; and we do not do this from any depreciation of the remedies of others, but from love, and without calculation of consequences. This is how it is with me. In this letter I shall only touch on some points which at once present themselves to me. I have referred to the rest in general terms, and in a separate form. May the Saviour incline your Majesty to take what He wishes you to take.

“My reason for this course is, that I only know your Majesty through the personal intercourse that I have been favoured with; for I only believe so much of what I read or hear—especially about exalted personages—as I myself have seen or have heard from their own lips. I cannot make any practical application of the truth to any one till I have studied them, and thoroughly questioned them; and it would be especially difficult for me to make a pointed

appeal to your Majesty—not because there is any reason to fear your Majesty's displeasure, for I know that the truth is welcome to you, and, besides that, I have a mighty Saviour, in whose service I fear nothing; but because I do not know the essential principles on which your Majesty acts. I might, therefore, find fault with something for which your Majesty could offer a good reason, or I might express my approval of what you could not justify; for motives, and not acts, are the true criteria to judge by.

“To come to the letter which your Majesty has condescended to write me, it contains three things which I should not put in that way if I were about to go to my Saviour; but, with these exceptions, I could subscribe to every word of it, for it contains my own theology. 1. If I were about to depart, I could not think of *hypocrites*. 2. I should not only *forgive my enemies*, but I should consider what it behoved me to do to obtain their forgiveness. I have to make this a matter of careful consideration every year, because it is one of the things that my Saviour has positively enjoined. 3. I could not have promised to *amend as far as human weakness can*.

“If I lay stress on this last point, it is because I believe that man not only cannot do much good, but cannot do any at all; while, on the other hand, the Saviour has power to make us completely conformed to His will, provided that we allow Him to do so. Besides, according to Scripture, (Rom. i.,) sins are a punishment to us; and to say that we wish to keep from sin is to say that we wish to avoid a punishment which we are obliged to undergo, and

which we cannot escape from till we have obtained His grace. Hence our starting-point must be grace—a grace that we believe in with the heart, and accept with tears of joy, whether it has been earnestly pleaded for, as in the case of almost all who are saved, or whether it has come unsought, as in the case of Paul. When grace has been received, we can keep from sin if we will. Jesus has atoned, and has taken away both the evil and its punishment. From the time that we enter on this experience, if a wrong desire presents itself, we can give thanks to God that we are no longer under its dominion; we say to covetousness, pride, avarice, “You nailed our Lord to the cross.”* Your Majesty is quite right in not wishing to be a hypocrite; and, for my part, I hold myself up as much as I can. But there are moments when even kings are compelled to bow, and to hang down their heads, when their sins overwhelm them, and become a heavier load than they can bear. The hundred and sixteenth Psalm describes this state of mind, and shows the way of escape from it. In such a case as this, it would not be well to refuse to bow the head.

“I conclude, for I have no more to say that bears directly upon your Majesty’s letter. But the accompanying essay† fully expresses my sentiments with regard to salvation. If your Majesty will condescend to look at it, you may find something useful in it, though I cannot attempt to apply the principles it contains to your Majesty’s

* A quotation from a hymn.

† An essay entitled *Reflections on the Conversion of Sick Persons*, composed specially for the King of Prussia.

case; because that would be to pass a rash judgment.—
I am," &c.

Frederick-William died soon after these documents reached him (May 31, 1740), and before he could answer them. But there is reason to hope that Zinzendorf's words were not in vain.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHURCH IN COUNCIL.

At the synod held at Gotha a few weeks after Frederick-William's death, David Nitschmann, the bishop, and Anna Nitschmann, who had for ten years discharged the duties of an elder among the sisters at Herrnhut, being about to leave for North America, Zinzendorf resigned his episcopal office, chiefly because he foresaw that a greater amount of responsibility would devolve on him, and he feared that this might tend to set his own personal enemies against the Brethren generally. His resignation, however, was stoutly opposed, and the synod only yielded so far as to relieve him of the actual work of the episcopate, by appointing Polycarp Müller, formerly professor at Leipsic, as his colleague.

The numerous pamphlets that were poured forth at this time, chiefly from the Pietists at Halle, against the Brethren, induced the same synod to resolve on the presentation of an address to Dr Franke* and his friends. This document, the object of which was to make a candid acknowledgment of things wherein the Brethren felt themselves wrong, was drawn up by Zinzendorf, and sent to Halle by Leonard Dober and the new Bishop Polycarp; but it failed

* Son of A. H. Franke, the founder of the Orphan Asylum.

of its purpose, as the Pietist divines refused to see the delegates.

The magnanimity of Zinzendorf towards his accusers has already been referred to. He carried it to such an extent, that when the author of a hostile pamphlet sent him a copy, as most of those who wrote against him did, he thought it his duty to read it to his brethren in full assembly, and on a day when there was the largest attendance of strangers. And he only discontinued this practice at the urgent request of the Brethren themselves, because they would not hear him thus picked to pieces and misrepresented.

One good effect, however, resulted from all this activity of his opponents. Visitors from Germany, Switzerland, Livonia, Denmark, Norway, Holland, and England, flocked to Marienborn to see this condemned man and his adherents with their own eyes; and the result was, that many were disabused of their false impressions, and the community at Herrnhaag became rapidly enlarged.

The Count, however, according to the testimony of Spangenberg, was little disposed to rejoice in this influx; for, though he readily received such persons as had no means of being useful to their fellow-countrymen, and felt it incumbent on them to seek another home for the sake of their own spiritual well-being, he was decidedly of opinion that if those who loved the Saviour had remained at home and borne witness to the truth in their own neighbourhood, they would have served the cause of Christ far better than by leaving their native lands to join a distant community.

The mixed character of the community which gradually peopled the Wetterau (the name given to the district comprising Marienborn, Herrnhaag, and Ronneburg) may be imagined from the circumstance that out of seven persons who were confirmed on one day in the year 1740, there were not two belonging to the same country; one was a Pole, another a Hungarian, and then came a Swiss, an Englishman, a Swede, a Livonian, and a German. Hence the difficulty the Count experienced in maintaining peace and order, especially in a country which was not, like Herrnhut, under his own authority. He strove, however, against all untoward influences with courageous determination and unceasing prayer, and not only endeavoured to build up the Church at home, but fostered the missionary spirit, and had just sent out new labourers to Greenland and Surinam, when his health gave way under the pressure of excessive toil and anxiety; and he entreated to be released from the duties of the presidency. He seems to have regarded his illness as a divine intimation of something in which he had failed to follow the Saviour's directions; and he said that while he had always been wanting in most of the gifts that were requisite for such an important office, he had lost the qualifications he once possessed. The Brethren, however, were of a very different opinion; he was induced, at their unanimous request, to withdraw his resignation; and instead of retiring from the field, he only entered upon new forms of exertion.

Attended by a suite of about fifty members of the Church, among whom was the Countess and his eldest son, and who kept up an incessant offering of prayer night and day, he

passed the spring of 1741 in Switzerland, unfolding in public, and before the Genevan pastors and professors, the great doctrines of the gospel. The Library of Geneva still contains the document he drew up, addressed *à la Vénérable Compagnie de MM. les Pasteurs et Professeurs de l'Eglise de Genève*, in which he detailed the history, discipline, and faith of the Moravians; and he also dedicated to the same body a French translation of the book of *Texts*, which he had compiled for the year 1740, setting forth the teaching of Scripture as to the person and work of Christ. A society of *United Brethren*, founded at this time, long remained as a monument of the success of Zinzendorf's labours in the city of Calvin. Although the Swiss pastors were somewhat alarmed at the Count's decisive tone as to the divinity of Jesus, they sent a deputation, including M. Mallet, the moderator of the Academy; Vernet, the rector; the pastor, Lullin; and Professor Necker, the father of the famous minister of Louis XVI., to present him with their official thanks for the historical memorial that he had placed in their hands; and though some of the rabble threw stones at the Countess's carriage as the party were leaving the neighbourhood, the moderator wrote to Zinzendorf, in the name of all his colleagues, to express their extreme regret at such an occurrence.

Early in the autumn of the same year, we find this untiring man in England making preparations for a voyage to North America, with a view to inspect the missions that had been established among the Indians in the English possessions; and if possible, to promote fraternal union between the different parties into which.

the Christians of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring provinces were divided.

The first step he took before leaving Marienborn, was to resign the episcopate; and on his arrival in London, he ransacked his memory for the names of all those who might have anything against him, and wrote to every one of them, proposing terms of peace. In some cases where hostility was persisted in, he followed up these letters by strong representations of the danger that attended such unchristian conduct; and, in consequence of this, he was accused of fulminating curses upon his brethren, and in many quarters was condemned without a hearing.

The synod that met at this time in the English metropolis, was marked by an interesting and characteristic event.

It will be remembered that, when the constitution of Herrnhut was settled in 1727, twelve elders were elected whose duties were chiefly of a sacerdotal character. They were chosen on account of their eminent piety, and were generally occupied in prayer for the various members of the Church, or in giving their counsel on occasions of special moment, and seeing that the statutes which had been enacted were faithfully carried out. After a time, they devolved their office on four of their number selected by lot, and eventually the number was reduced to two, one of whom was looked upon as the responsible functionary, the other only acting as his substitute. As the Church enlarged its boundaries, this office advanced in importance, the elder at Herrnhut being the general elder of the whole body, to whom all the members, even in the most distant colonies, looked for guidance, as the Jews

looked to the High Priest when he wore the Urim and the Thummim on his breast.

Each individual community had its own officers for its internal management; but the general affairs of the society were conducted by the *Community of the Pilgrims*, consisting of Zinzendorf and his companions. Since the year 1736, when the Count was banished from Saxony, his central government had been located, at different times, in the Wetterau, in Frankfort, Berlin, Geneva, and London. Hence, the general elder of the entire Church always accompanied this movable administration. At the period now referred to, Leonard Dober, who had been recalled from his sphere of missionary labours in the island of St Thomas, held this high dignity. But having faithfully discharged its anxious and oppressive duties for seven years, he had recently resigned it, and the synod was about to appoint a successor.

Various names having been proposed, but without any satisfactory result, "the conference," says Spangenberg, "became protracted, and we were greatly perplexed. At last some one said, 'Why should not the Lord himself condescend to take this office? He is the only one that nobody can object to!' To this view there was a universal and instant response." "The question," adds Spangenberg, "was not whether the Saviour would be the bishop and pastor of our souls in a general manner: what we desired, and what we asked of Him, was to form an alliance of a special kind with the poor people of the Brethren; to accept us as His private property; to take the care of all our affairs, however small; to watch over us particularly;

to hold personal intercourse with each member of the community; in fact, to undertake a perfect fulfilment of all the functions which our former elder discharged, as far as his weakness permitted."

The matter was laid before the Saviour according to the mode usually adopted by the Moravians. The written Word was first appealed to for guidance, by opening the book of *Texts*. This being favourable, the Lord was asked to indicate His will more clearly, by the *yes* or *no*, that might be drawn from the urn. The answer was affirmative; and the 13th of November 1741 was fixed upon for the installation of the Divine Elder, whose election was a virtual abolition of official human priesthood in the Moravian Church.

It was resolved to mark this memorable day by a general forgiveness of all persons who had offended against the Church, in its corporate capacity, or against any of its members.

This act of amnesty was severely commented on in many of the journals, and a revival of the Romish custom of indulgences was ascribed to Zinzendorf, as the Pope of the Herrnhuttites. He, however, had never dreamt of such a thing as a formal absolution. In fact, the resolution was not drawn up till after he had set sail for America, and he was not aware that it had gone forth till he returned and saw it in the public prints.

Another important act of the London Conference was the institution of a diaconate for the management of finances. Up to this time, the Countess had had the charge

of this department ; but the business connected with it had grown to such proportions that it had become necessary to relieve her of the burden. Zinzendorf objected on principle, as well as from natural delicacy, to make collections for the pecuniary wants of the Church ; and accordingly, when the funds proved insufficient for the expenses of the various missions and educational establishments, he submitted to the necessity of contracting loans on his own account, because he was anxious to prevent the cause of Christ from becoming burdensome to the members of the community.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE PENNSYLVANIANS.

WHEN the Count embarked for New York at Gravesend, at the end of September 1741, war was raging in Europe. Spain and France had just declared against Maria Theresa, whose cause Great Britain espoused. The seas were infested with pirates, and passengers in English vessels ran the risk of falling into the hands of the Spaniards. Zinzendorf was advised not to trust himself except in a man-of-war; but as this would have delayed his departure, and lengthened the time of his voyage, he took a different course. The Quakers and the Mennonites would no doubt have conceived a prejudice against him if he had made his appearance among them sheltering under the array of battle.

"And besides," he wrote, "I do not desire any other protection than that described in the 7th chapter of the Apocalypse, (ver. 1-3.) Last year, when my friends went to Philadelphia, I did not scruple to recommend their taking Spanish passports. It is right to take these precautions when others are concerned; but I should not feel justified in doing so for myself: I should consider that I was violating the safeguard that has been given me, (Luke xii. 7.)"*

* "*The very hairs of your head are all numbered.*"

Accordingly he took his passage on board a merchant ship, accompanied by his eldest daughter, Benigna, then about sixteen years of age, and some of the Brethren and Sisters. In the course of this voyage, which occupied two months, he composed some of his best hymns; and the striking contrasts of feeling they express, remind us of the inspired psalmists, at one moment sinking under the overwhelming waves of sorrow, and then rising in triumphant strains of gratitude and joy.

After spending a few days in New York, he took a house in Philadelphia, adopting that city as the centre of his movements, and organising the little Church that was to follow him as usual. He then applied to the governor of the province for some one with a knowledge of English and German, to act as witness against any designing person who might attempt to bring suspicion upon him by misrepresenting what he said.

The object of his first excursion in Pennsylvania was to inquire into the condition of the German colonists in that region, who had increased to the number of above a hundred thousand. On reaching the banks of the Delaware, he had the gratification of meeting some of the Brethren, who had left Hernnhut in 1734 and 1735, and who were now engaged in rearing the two establishments afterwards known as Bethlehem and Nazareth.

On the day that Zinzendorf disembarked in the harbour of New York, he laid aside his title, and merely announced himself as Louis von Thürnstein, so that he was generally called *Brother Louis*, or *Friend Louis*, according to the custom of the Quakers. His opponents, however, persisted

in giving him the honours of aristocracy, as it answered their purpose to do so ; and he therefore made a formal renunciation of his rank as a nobleman, in the governor's house in Philadelphia, and in the presence of several of the leading citizens. Having given a statement of his reasons for this step, in a Latin speech which was previously printed and distributed among the auditors, he gathered in all the copies that had been used, and sent them under seal to the keeper of the archives of the province, requesting him to retain them till he should return to Europe, and get his title as Count of the Holy Empire officially cancelled.

It is difficult to determine exactly what it was that led Zinzendorf to resolve on this singular mode of procedure ; but it would appear, from a portion of his speech preserved in one of his works,* that his chief motive was to prevent the reproach that he had incurred, for the truth's sake, from falling upon the other members of the Zinzendorf house.

Among those who were present on this occasion, was Benjamin Franklin, a "postmaster," as he is styled in a memorandum appended to Zinzendorf's speech, who had already achieved extensive fame by his scientific labours, and, twenty years afterwards, became conspicuous among the liberators of his country.

There were large numbers of Lutherans at this time in Pennsylvania, but they were in a very dead state. In the country districts generally, and in many towns, they had no ministers, and never met for public worship. It was not, therefore, surprising that they were scorned by all other religious parties ; and if Zinzendorf had been anxious

* *Die gegenwärtige Gestalt des Kreuz-Reichs Jesu*, p. 186.

about his own reputation, he would have taken care not to identify himself with them. But their wretched condition attracted his heart; and just as he had taken the side of those whom the Lutherans despised in Germany, so now, when the Lutherans themselves needed a friend, we find him active among them. His exertions for their spiritual good soon drew forth a grateful response; and after attending the services that he held in his own house, they invited him to conduct worship for them in a barn, which they were permitted to use as a church, in common with the *Reformed*. Zinzendorf readily complied with this request, and preached to them every Sunday. He was then asked to administer the Lord's Supper; but he did not consent to this until a decided spiritual revival had commenced.

The next thing was a unanimous vote of the Lutheran church in Philadelphia electing Zinzendorf as pastor. He accepted the call for the time of his stay in America; and another minister, whom he nominated, was appointed to succeed him in the event of his retirement. He also drew up a plan of ecclesiastical organisation, which was adopted; and besides establishing schoolmasters in the two parishes of Philadelphia and Tulpehokin, he made provision for the other Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania to be regularly visited by evangelists.

It was remarkable that the *Reformed*, as well as the Lutherans, chose Zinzendorf as their pastor, and applied to him to celebrate divine service among them according to their mode. So that he formed a link between the two parties; and though they met in separate assemblies, the

spirit of union soon began to grow up, and the two churches walked side by side in Christian harmony. This happy state of things was suddenly interrupted by some disorderly persons, who rushed into the building one day during the celebration of the Lutheran worship, and, after pulling a minister, who was supplying the Count's place, out of the pulpit, and forcibly expelling the whole of his hearers, took possession of the place in the name of the Reformed parish. To prevent further hostilities, Zinzendorf erected a new church at his own expense, and saw it opened before his return to Europe.

The disturbances within the Lutheran body were of a still more painful character; but they only served to show the peaceful spirit that actuated the Count. A minister from Germany, belonging to that communion, openly avowed his determination to destroy Zinzendorf's influence, and succeeded in forming a party against him, which threatened to divide the church. But as the author of the disaffection was a man of popular talent and preached the gospel faithfully, the Count made no resistance whatever, but immediately retired from his post, rejoicing, like St Paul, that although "some preached Christ even of envy and strife, and some also of good will, notwithstanding, in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ was preached."*

At the period of which we are writing, the religious world in Pennsylvania was split up into innumerable parties. Besides the Lutherans, the Reformed, the Anglicans, the Presbyterians, and the Quakers, there were the Schwenk-

* Philip. i. 15-18.

feldians and the Inspired from Germany; the Mennonites, who rejected infant baptism; the Baptists, who held the same views as the Mennonites in regard to the subject of baptism, and adhered to immersion as the only scriptural mode; the Sabbatists, who observed the seventh day of the week instead of the first; and many other minor sects.

The natural tendency of all these divisions and subdivisions was to increase rather than to diminish; but there were men of enlarged views here and there, who soared above all these differences, and often asked the question whether some means could not be devised to re-unite the body of Christ. At the very moment when Zinzendorf arrived in Pennsylvania, a circular was being issued by a member of the Reformed communion, named Antes, inviting the Germans of all denominations to meet in a general synod, with a view to draw up certain general articles of faith such as all could adopt, and to determine on a basis of alliance, or at any rate to form a treaty of peace.*

The synod met seven times from January to June 1742, although several churches declined to be represented in it. Each sitting occupied three days. Zinzendorf was invited to attend. Although at first he was received with some degree of suspicion, he soon became the soul of the assembly, and was unanimously elected as syndic, or president. It would be irrelevant to the object of this biography to nar-

* Verbeek states that Antes did this "by the advice and at the instigation of Zinzendorf." Spangenberg, however, does not mention this, but seems to indicate, on the contrary, that the step taken by Antes was quite spontaneous.

rate the proceedings of this oddly-constituted body, or the various resolutions that were passed. Suffice it to say, that although it did not realise all the fond hopes that had been founded on it, it greatly served to promote the cause of Christian union by calling general attention to the subject, and impressing many individual minds in the various churches with its vast importance.

Zinzendorf himself has given us the substance of a sermon he preached at the opening of this synod, and we quote it, because it forms an epitome of his theological views:—

“ There is only one way that ought to be pointed out by all Christian teachers, on pain of losing their right to teach. There is only one foundation, and that is the merit of Jesus. There is only one road that leads to life eternal, and this does not consist in the most profound knowledge of the Deity, but in the knowledge of God manifest in the flesh. This is the God that we must preach; and we must preach Him crucified, because it was thus that He atoned for our sins. This truth includes all wisdom, all justification, all sanctification, and all salvation. He who possesses this truth here below is raised above all other knowledge; he who carries it into the next world is prepared for eternal life. It is difficult to believe it, but not impossible; for the Saviour, by His blood, has purchased for all of us the power to believe.”

It was a habit with Zinzendorf to set apart the Saturday as a day of rest and prayer,—not out of conformity to the Mosaic law, but because of the blessing that God pronounced on that day when He had completed the work of creation.

While, however, he was careful to let it be understood that he considered all persons free to do as they thought fit in this matter, he observed the Lord's day in common with the Christian Church at large. But though he thus kept two Sabbaths instead of one, this was not enough to satisfy the rigid notions peculiar to American puritanism; and one Sunday evening, when he was engaged with his daughter in composing some hymns, the justice of the peace made his appearance, and ordered them, in the King's name, to cease writing. The next day they were summoned to answer for their crime, and were fined six shillings each for *profaning the Sabbath*.

The North American Indians in and around Pennsylvania, at this period, might be divided into three classes. The Iroquois, or the confederation of the *five peoples*, ranked first. They were dreaded by the other *Red-skins*, and held in repute by the European colonists, to whom they occasionally sold portions of their immense territories. At certain fixed intervals they came in great numbers, with their wives and children, to Philadelphia, to renew their friendly understanding with the whites, or, as they expressed it in their poetic language, *to rub off the rust from the chain of friendship*. The Pennsylvanians received them with great distinction, entertained them free of expense during their stay, and sent them back loaded with presents. The allies of the Iroquois, their "brethren," as they called them, formed the second class; and then came their "cousins," or the races who were subject to them—such as the Delawares, the Mohicans, and others. These last lived for the most part among the Europeans, and passed their time

chiefly in hunting, fishing, and some few minor industrial occupations; but having grafted the vices of civilisation upon those of their barbaric fathers, they were regarded as the dregs of society, and every one scorned them.

While Zinzendorf was at Bethlehem, the Indians laid claim to the ground on which the Brethren had planted their colony called Nazareth. The Count would have been for yielding at once, but that he thought there would be some danger of alienating a portion of the territory that belonged to the British Crown; and hence he considered it only right to refer the matter to the Governor. The Indians having taken possession of the ground in question, the Governor ordered the Brethren to eject them; but the Indians held to their claim. A legal inquiry was therefore instituted at Philadelphia, in the presence of the Iroquois chiefs, as to the rights of the respective parties; but Zinzendorf settled the matter by persuading his friends to make a present to the Indians equal to the amount they asked as the price of the land.

His first missionary tour was made towards the end of July with his daughter Benigna, Anna Nitschmann, and some of the Brethren, to the region occupied by the Delawares, and thence to Tulpehokin, where he met the *Sachems*, or Indian chiefs, returning from their accustomed visit to Philadelphia. He advanced towards them, told them that he wished to preach the Word of God to them and their tribes, and requested them to say whether they approved of his purpose. "Neither my brethren nor I," he said, "have come among you to buy land or to trade, but to show the way of salvation to those who are

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capable of receiving grace." Conrad Weisser, an American Sabbatist, who voluntarily accompanied Zinzendorf as interpreter, and had a great admiration for him, translated these words to the Sachem, and the Iroquois having retired according to their custom for deliberation, came back in half-an-hour, and gave him a hearty welcome. A number of Moravian missionaries subsequently visited them, one of whom was David Zeisberger, who stayed several years among them, learned their language, and laboured with a considerable amount of success.

Zinzendorf's general plan of action was, in the first instance, to give these Indian tribes a practical insight into the religion he came to teach, by simply leading a Christian life amongst them ; and when a favourable impression had thus been made, and inquiry was excited, he preached the leading truths of the gospel, "taking care," as Spangenberg remarks, "not to put more things into their heads than their hearts could lay hold of."

But his mode of approaching them was carefully adapted to their distinctive peculiarities ; and when he performed his last tour, in the autumn of 1742, after ascending the Susquehanna, and crossing the primeval forest, he pitched his tent at a short distance from Wajomik, the capital of the Shawanos, and remained there three weeks, observing the habits of the people, and conversing with them, so as to make himself familiar with their ideas before he proceeded more directly with the special object of his mission. He found this tribe to be one of the most corrupt and most opposed to the truth. They not only induced many of the Mohicans to withdraw from Gnadenhütten, where they had

listened to Christian instruction, and had begun a civilised life under the guidance of the missionaries ; but they concerted violent measures to get rid of Zinzendorf and his companions. Zinzendorf would have been killed, but that his interpreter, in whose absence the murder was to have been committed, returned unexpectedly and discovered the plot.

Such was the form in which these poor savages manifested their hatred to a man whose motives they could not comprehend, and whom they looked upon as an intruder.

America vied with Europe in a still more deadly system of attack. The New York and Philadelphia papers, fed by the scandal that arrived with every packet-boat from the European continent, forged the basest falsehoods to blacken his character ; and although he wrote a series of letters in a journal then published by Franklin, to deny the charges brought against him, his enemies seemed resolved not to be silenced. This unhappy turn of events probably contributed to hasten his departure from the new country. His chief object had been in some measure accomplished, in the organisation of the Moravian institutions and the promotion of Christian fellowship between the other churches, as well as in the powerful impulse and the wise direction he had given to missionary effort among the heathen. On the 9th of January 1743, (old style,) he embarked for Europe.

During his stay in America, he composed several works, among which was an *Introduction to Spiritual Direction*, forming an outline of Pastoral Theology ; and a Latin letter *To Free Thinkers*. The discourses he delivered in Pennsylvania were also published, and passed through several editions.

Captain Garrison, who commanded the ship in which Zinzendorf sailed, gives the following account of a singular occurrence on the voyage. "On the 14th of February," he says in a letter to Spangenberg, "we were nearing the Scilly Islands, and a hard south wind was driving us towards the rocks. The crew were all in terror, and I myself felt uneasy. The Count observed it, and asked me whether the danger was really serious; at the same time trying to encourage me, and saying that we should all arrive safe and sound. He was so cheerful, that I was quite astonished at him. When he found that I was still in fear, he told me that in two hours the storm would cease. I scarcely listened to what he said, considering that what he predicted was beyond human foresight; and I set to work to pray in preparation for death, as I usually did on such occasions. When the two hours were up, he persuaded me to go on deck and watch the weather. I had not been there many minutes when the wind turned south-west, and the danger was past. I had scarcely thought of what he said till that moment, and then it struck me powerfully. I went down into the cabin and told him the storm was over, and we had nothing more to fear. He then asked us to join him in giving thanks to God for our deliverance, and we did so.

"I had a great desire to know how it was that the Count could prophesy in this way, and I asked him. 'I will tell you frankly,' he replied, 'for I hope that you will not abuse what I say. For the last twenty years, I have lived in close communion with my Saviour. Now, when I find myself in dangerous or unusual circumstances, the

first thing I do is to consider very carefully whether it is through any fault of my own. If I discover anything that I am not satisfied with, I immediately throw myself at His feet, and beg His forgiveness. Then my Saviour pardons me, and He generally informs me at once how the matter will end. If, however, He is not pleased to reveal this to me, I wait quietly, in the belief that it is best for me not to know. On this occasion He communicated to me the fact that the storm would last for two hours.'"

On the 17th of February, Zinzendorf landed at Dover, and after visiting the Moravian establishments in Yorkshire and at Broadoaks, spent some time in London, preaching in German every day. His sermons were taken down in short-hand, translated into English, and read for the benefit of those who did not know the German language. It was in London, too, that he preached for the first time in French.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE COUNTESS AND THE CHILDREN.

WHILE the Count was in America, the Countess also performed several journeys, both in Germany and in other countries, and she did not reach her home till three weeks after her husband's return. Spangenberg, after referring to the singular wisdom and piety of this excellent woman, goes on to say: "It often happens that a man is so far superior to his wife that she instinctively looks up to him, and allows herself to be led by him, almost as if he were her father. But this was not the case in the present instance. Though the Countess loved and honoured her husband with all her heart, she had too much originality simply to follow him; and she made such good use of her own judgment that her counsel was of the highest value to him. She not only spared him all trouble about pecuniary and domestic affairs, but she was a faithful and prudent helper in those matters which strictly belonged to his vocation. The Lord was with her, and blessed her in everything she undertook for the good of the community. Her ear was open to any one who needed advice or comfort. She was a tender, watchful, wise, and unwearying mother to her children.

"She sometimes gave way to needless anxiety; but

when the clouds were dispersed, and she saw the matter that troubled her in its right light, she felt that she had been wrong, and she blamed herself for it."

Baron Schrautenbach describes her as of middle height, not a very good figure, but with an intelligent countenance, and all the bearing of a woman of rank. "She was simple," he says, "without affectation. She was never heard to utter a joke, but people were glad to ask her advice. She was full of animation, and readily entered into the happiness of others. She spoke little, but was a ready listener, and never paraded her wisdom. She was of a very easy temperament, and though odd in some things, she was always the same. She possessed a remarkably sound judgment; and her whole life, though quiet and uniform, indicated great energy of character."

The same writer tells us that not only her grown-up children, but the members of the community in general, used to call her *Mamma*; and her thoroughly sympathetic nature secured the warmest confidence of every one about her, especially of those who were in trouble. If any one had been unsuccessful in urging some cause with the Count, or wanted a friend to introduce anything to him, the Countess was always resorted to for this purpose, and her mediation was often used without being asked.

"She was large-hearted," he continues, "and generous, so that her partiality for this or that person made no difference to others. From five or six o'clock in the morning to eleven at night, her room, which was a rendezvous not only for her numerous family, but for all the active members of the Church, and even for visitors from other coun-

tries, was seldom empty; and when she found it necessary to dismiss her visitors for ever so short a time, that she might have a little rest, she always apologised for so doing. But she had her own little corner, with its table and curtain, which she kept entirely to herself, and nobody ever dared to invade it. She was fond of society; could always start a topic of conversation, if necessary; and was a perfect mistress of the art of narrative. She had seen a great deal of the world; and her conversation was always full of interest and instruction."

The travels of the Countess, like those of Zinzendorf, always had a religious end in view. Her last journey was to Livonia, where her husband's preaching a few years before had produced a deep impression. Finding that the Brethren in that province had to contend with great difficulties, she determined to visit St Petersburg, in the hope of obtaining an audience with the Empress Elizabeth, and interesting her on their behalf. On reaching the Russian capital, she was received with forced politeness by the Chancellor Bestucheff, and other members of the Court circle. But she did not succeed in gaining admission to the imperial presence; and she therefore turned her steps homeward. She had scarcely passed the frontier when a courier overtook her, saying that her Majesty was anxious to see her. The sudden change in the Empress's wishes led the Countess to suspect that something was wrong; and she thought it more prudent not to comply with this unexpected request, especially as she was now two hundred miles from St Petersburg. She learned soon afterwards

that she was looked upon as the founder of a new sect, and that the disturbances at that time in Livonia were attributed to her influence.

The Countess was at Herrnhut, on the eve of starting on this expedition to Russia, when she received the news of the death of her youngest son at Marienborn; and her little daughter, Jane Salome, only five years old, died soon afterwards at Herrnhut. Little Jane was extraordinarily advanced in her religious knowledge and experience. If she was at all out of temper, or seemed inclined to disobey, it was quite sufficient to tell her that the Saviour would be displeased, and she yielded in a moment. During her illness she often said how joyful it would be to go to Jesus; and on the last evening before she died, when some friends were singing around her bed, she asked them to sing some verses of her own choice. Just before her spirit fled, she told them to bid her father and mother good-bye, said she wanted to go to sleep, and then sank sweetly to eternal rest while the hymn she loved was being sung.

But few particulars have been preserved of the other members of Zinzendorf's family. He was completely engrossed in his work. According to his views, the Church, though not nullifying the family, extended its boundaries; and he looked upon his wife and children as his fellow-labourers. His early orphanage had trained him to regard the Saviour as his dearest friend, and to trust Him only with the deepest and strongest emotions of his heart, and with all his solitudes on his own behalf as well as for those whom God had given him. As the

Saviour was the Elder of the Church of the Brethren, so He was the centre and head of Zinzendorf's household. We are charmed to see Luther romping with his children, and finding relief from his severer occupations in their merry games. But there was nothing of this kind in the domestic life of Zinzendorf. His home—when his wanderings permitted him to have one—was simply the headquarters and the centre of government of the United Brethren. But this did not weaken his influence over its inmates, or rather, did not prevent their being thoroughly united in one heart and one mind.

Faith appeared innate in his children; and the love of Christ followed so closely upon the dawn of intelligence, that it seemed as if the new man were twin to the natural man; and the words of St Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 14,* were strikingly fulfilled.

The following brief details have been furnished by M. Bost, in his *History of the Church of the Brethren*:—†

“Count Zinzendorf had twelve children, six of whom died in infancy. Theodora Caritas died in 1731. Her parents offered many prayers for her before her birth, and from her earliest days took the utmost care that she should neither hear nor see anything but what sprang from the love of Christ, or tended to promote it. The sisters who attended upon her were eminent for their spirituality of mind, and were also fond of devotional poetry.

“She could speak prettily before she was a year old;

* “*Now are they (your children) holy.*”

† *Histoire de l'Eglise des Frères*, vol. I.

and soon after that she took the greatest delight in what she called *the Saviour's hymns*, and used to sing them of her own accord. She had learnt a great many verses, and even entire hymns, simply by hearing the sisters sing them; and she could recall some of the most difficult tunes in the Brethren's collection, without a single mistake.

"One of her favourite verses was,—

" 'Keep me, Saviour, in Thy way;
Let me never turn aside,
Or forsake my heavenly guide,
Till the great and final day.'

"And she was never tired of singing—

" 'Holy Lamb and Prince of peace,
Hear my soul implore Thy grace;
Grant that my behaviour may
Meekness, such as Thine, display.'

"One day her mamma, who had missed her, asked where she had been. 'To the Saviour, and to papa,' she replied. 'Have you been with the Saviour?' said her mamma. 'Yes,' she said; 'papa was just talking to Him.' She had gone into the Count's room and found him in prayer.

"In her last illness, when she was two years old, she began singing the words that were generally sung at the funeral service of a child as the body was being lowered to the grave,—

" 'Jesus, let me come and rest,
Cradled on Thy gentle breast!
Jesus, whom I dearly love,
Take me to Thy home above!'

But she was too weak to continue, and when obliged to

be silent, she lay patiently and peacefully, like a little lamb, casting sweet looks of childish love on all around her, and drawing tears from every eye.

“On the 26th of November she appeared to be near her end, and her father sang some farewell words at her bedside. Her mother being absent, the servants were in great fear that the child would die before she could reach home. But Zinzendorf asked the Saviour to spare her, adding, that he knew not what he was asking, and that he left it entirely in the Lord’s hands. At the moment that he presented this request the violence of the symptoms abated, and did not return till after the arrival of the Countess, on the 1st of December. When her father went to her cradle early in the morning of the 2d of December, she lifted up her right hand and put it over her face, as she used to do when she wanted to go to sleep. The Count placed his own hand upon the little one’s, and was offering a prayer, when her happy spirit fled. She was just two years and six weeks old.

“On the 16th of May 1732, while the Count was in deep sorrow, although resigned and full of ardent love to the Saviour, he lost another child, Ernest John, of whom things of the same kind are narrated. When he was dying, his little sister, four years and a half old, asked the elder one, who was weeping, why Ernest was going to die. ‘No,’ Ernest said, ‘I am not going to die, though they say so; it is only pain that dies.’ The day before his death, when he was in great suffering, his little infant sister, Caritas, of whom we have spoken above, then only

eighteen months old, turned round in her cradle, and sang in her soft clear voice—

“ ‘Sweetest lamb! the clouds are clearing,
As thy life's last day is nearing;
Thou art going away from sorrow,
It will all be bright to-morrow.’ ”

“Spangenberg,” adds M. Bost, “to whom we are indebted for these particulars, was an eye-witness; and though they are extraordinary, he is too conscientious and exact to leave any doubt as to their truth.”

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COUNT'S IDEAS OF UNITY.

THE question that was agitated among the Brethren during Zinzendorf's absence on his first visit to America, had again arisen while he was away the second time on a similar errand. His views, in reference to the position which the community ought to take, widely differed from those of the Brethren generally. While they were strongly inclined to form a church which should be distinct from the other evangelical communions, Zinzendorf, on the contrary, was not much concerned about the extension of the Moravian body, and was anxious that the society he had founded, while not identifying itself with this or that Christian communion, should keep its place within the Lutheran and the Reformed churches as well as in the Moravian, and thus maintain its testimony in favour of Christian union. He would have liked to unite it also with the Church of England, and had some hope of accomplishing this, as the Archbishop of Canterbury was favourable; but the course taken by the Brethren in London, who preferred to retain their independence, rendered this impracticable.

The tendency towards a distinct organisation was greatly promoted by the influence of Count Promnitz, a Silesian nobleman, who had joined the society on the Continent

while Zinzendorf was abroad, and had actually bought an estate near Gotha, with a view to establish a *Moravian* colony in that region, although such a step was not lawful according to the constitution of the country. To prevent the trouble which would have followed if this project had been pursued further, Zinzendorf wrote from London to the Duke of Gotha, disavowing any part in the steps that had been taken, and saying that the only kind of community that he and his friends would think of planting in that kingdom would be one like Herrnhut, based on the Augsburg Confession.

After a preliminary discussion at Amsterdam, in which both Promnitz and Zinzendorf took part, and which was marked by becoming moderation on both sides, the matter was brought before a synod held at Hirschberg, near Ebersdorf, on the 1st of July 1743. The death of Frederick-William I. had raised great hopes in the minds of Zinzendorf's opponents. The opinions entertained on religious subjects by the new king, Frederick II., who was a friend of Voltaire, were well known, and it was confidently believed that the Herrnhuttites would suffer as the result. But Frederick the Great was as much opposed to intolerance as he was to religion, and accordingly maintained religious liberty throughout his dominions, and favoured persecuted sects even more than his predecessor. In pursuance of this liberal policy, and in response to the application of the Brethren, he not only authorised them to settle in any part of his States, but gave them the fullest freedom of worship, permitted them to choose their own ministers, and took them under his immediate protection, so that they

were not responsible to any consistory, and were under no ecclesiastical control but that of their own bishops.*

While the Brethren generally rejoiced in this pleasant state of affairs, Zinzendorf viewed it with uneasiness, and plainly stated his feelings in the synod. In the first place, he thought that the application made to the King ought not to have been presented in the name of the Moravian Church, for he considered that by this course the Brethren had renounced their right to be considered as members of the Lutheran and of the Reformed communions,—a right which they had hitherto justly guarded with jealous care; and, secondly, he reminded the assembly that the house of Brandenburg had, for more than a hundred years, thrown its shield over the Church of the Brethren, Jablonski having been at once a Moravian bishop and the court preacher; and therefore, he asked, why should they solicit as a favour a right which had never been denied them, and which was only likely to be weakened in their effort to strengthen it?

After sitting for twelve days, the synod agreed to the Count's views, and he was deputed, with four other members, to treat with the Prussian Government as to the future position of the Church in Berlin and in Silesia.

Immediately on his arrival in Berlin, he addressed the following letter, in French, to the King:—

“SIRE,—The united Churches of Moravian Brethren cannot be too grateful for the great favour that your Majesty has shown them, but they have a strong objection

* The King's letters patent, dated December 25, 1742, are to be found in the *Büdingische Sammlung*, vol. iii. p. 122.

to the character of a new sect; for they have for many years enjoyed the privilege of belonging to the existing churches, and since the Reform they have not constituted any other distinct confession. The Lutherans among them hold their own views, and the Reformed do the same. Where there are members of both confessions, they are governed by the majority; and where the numbers are pretty nearly equal, they live in fraternal union.

"This is their universal condition before the eyes of all Europe.

"Those who are jealous of them are endeavouring to deprive them of this high privilege, and would even make use of the gracious promises that your Majesty has bestowed upon them, in order to separate them from the evangelical body in Germany, and to associate them with the tolerated sects,—a title which the Moravian churches have no desire to claim in Protestant countries. We are, therefore, trying to parry this blow; and we venture to ask your Majesty's gracious permission to open our hearts to you, as to the means of doing it.

"This shall be done with the clearness, precision, and respect due to so distinguished a sovereign, and will add a fresh obligation to all the others.—We are," etc.

What the Count wanted was a new inquiry, to prove the perfect harmony between the doctrinal faith of the Brethren and that of the Evangelical Church at large. His one answer to all complaints and all commendations alike was, *Examine*; and he persisted in urging this request. But the inquiry he challenged had been made long ago,

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and the Government had other matters on hand, and did not care to burden itself with a troublesome question of this kind. Frederick had no leanings to the Augsburg Confession, and he cared not whether the Moravians were orthodox or heretics; all he wished was to protect liberty of conscience. Hence the Count's efforts were in vain. He failed to get the churches of the Brethren placed, as he desired, under the surveillance of a Lutheran consistory, and was compelled to accept the alternative of independence.

Soon after this Zinzendorf was on his way to St Petersburg, invested by the Church with full powers to act according to his own discretion as its representative. He had previously written to the authorities in Riga and St Petersburg to refute the ridiculous and scandalous interpretations which had been put upon the Countess's visit to Russia, and now he was bent on laying the affairs of the Brethren before the Empress in a personal audience. On reaching Riga, December 23, he announced his arrival to Marshal Lascy, the governor of the province, and applied for a passport. The governor, instead of granting his request, replied that he was not competent to give a passport to a man of his rank, and put the Count's messenger under arrest. Shortly afterwards Zinzendorf received a polite communication from the Marshal, saying that he could not send him a passport without consulting his Government, but requesting the Count to pass over to the other side of the Dwina that he might have the honour of paying his respects to him there. Zinzendorf complied, and was conducted straight to the fortress, where he and his son, with the rest of his companions, were imprisoned.

He now wrote to the Empress, begging her, as the only favour he desired to ask, to inquire into the faith of the Brethren, and their conduct in the Russian states. He bore his imprisonment without a murmur, as is shown by a beautiful hymn that he composed on Christmas-eve, immediately after his arrest; and his letter to the Countess, dated on that day, breathes the same cheerful spirit.

"I entreat you not to be at all anxious about my imprisonment. I can assure you I am quite well, and so is our dear son. This would not have happened if it had not been the Saviour's will; for I had many warnings of what was going to happen, but I have not been permitted to turn them to account. On the contrary, I have had to furnish the occasion for my own seizure by my letters to the vice-chancellor and Count Lascy. Dispensations like this are designed for some end, and I am sure the Saviour will arrange all for the best. The Marshal has been very courteous to me, and he does not show any ill will. Think much about me. Here we are, a nice little band of prisoners for the Saviour, and my little Christian is very pleased to share this adventure with his papa. Remember that we have a faithful Saviour, that we are in His hands, and that He leads us in love, even when appearances confound us, and when the way is not what we should have chosen had it depended upon us. There is nothing in the world less to my liking than arrests; but as I am here, I accommodate myself to my circumstances. I can say no more than I have said at other times:—When I am away, do my part doubly.

"RIGA, *Christmas-eve*, 1743."

He also wrote to the Empress:—

“I am happy wherever the authority of the country I happen to be in places me, for, thank God, I have learned to submit from my heart to authority. In short, I am persuaded that the regular road, however rough, proves in the long run better than cross-paths, however easy they may seem.”

He had not long to wait for an answer from St Petersburg. The Government would not trouble itself with the matter, but preferred to cut it short by giving Zinzendorf notice to quit the states of the empire forthwith; and on the 12th of January he was escorted by a detachment of soldiers to the Prussian frontier.

After venturing to make a short visit to Herrnhut,—for though the decree of banishment was not yet revoked, he had reason to believe that it would not be so rigidly enforced as at first,—he settled down at Marienborn, under the new title of Servant-Plenipotentiary (*Vollmaechtiger Diener*) of the Church, the various members of his family also holding important stations in the community, and the Countess retaining the domestic management in her hands.

One of the first things that now engaged the attention of the Count was a synod that he convened to deliberate on a scheme of organisation which he had drawn up in order to secure a more complete realisation of what he considered true unity to be. His idea was, that while the members of the three principal bodies out of which the society had been formed, viz., the Moravian, the Lutheran, and the Reformed Churches, thus united in one fraternity, yet the fullest scope should be given to the special religious tend-

encies of each one of these churches ; and that in order to carry out this principle practically, such confession should be headed by its own bishop.

The views of Zinzendorf, though not relished at first by the Brethren, were put in force. Two new bishops were elected—Frederick Watteville by the Reformed, and G. J. Conrad, superintendent-general of Schleswig-Holstein, by the Lutherans ; and thus the ancient appellation of *United Brethren* was completely justified. From this time Zinzendorf became known as the *Ordinarius Unitatis Fratrum*, taking the name of *Ordinary* in the same sense as it is held by diocesan bishops, in distinction from those who are denominated titular or suffragan, and as indicating that his ecclesiastical authority was exercised in his own right, and not by virtue of delegation.

Soon after the close of this synod, Zinzendorf went to Wetzlar, and informed Count Vermond, a member of the imperial chamber, of the intention he had announced in America to make a formal resignation of his title as Count. Vermond, however, strongly dissuaded him from this on account of the public injury that might be entailed, and especially the inextricable confusion that would be sure to result if others followed his example. Zinzendorf yielded to his representations, and there the matter dropped.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PASSING CLOUDS.

THE period immediately succeeding the occurrences just narrated was eventful, both in the history of the man whose life we are sketching, and in that of the brotherhood with which he was so inseparably identified. Among the host of critics who attacked him and his associates, were two of Zinzendorf's most esteemed friends, the learned Bengel, and Weissman, both of whom wrote against him,—Bengel arguing, in his *Remarques sur la Prétendue Communauté des Frères*, that the colonists at Herrnhut had no right to claim descent from the ancient Church of the Brethren, and that they based their theology on feeling instead of knowledge; while Weissman, in his *Histoire Ecclésiastique*, (a work in other respects, according to Spangenberg, very valuable,) charged them with upsetting the constitution of the Lutheran Church. It was in reply to these accusations, that Zinzendorf published his work, on *The Present State of the Kingdom of the Cross of Jesus,* etc.*, without, however, mentioning either his opponents or their writings; and his *Réflexions Naturelles*, to which we have already referred, was composed with the same view.

* Die gegenwärtige Gestalt des Kreuzreichs Jesu in seiner Unschuld, das ist, verschiedene deutliche Wahrheiten denen unziehligen Unwahrheiten gegen eine bekannte evangelische Gemeinde entgegen, etc.

Although Zinzendorf successfully refuted many of the incorrect reports that had been circulated respecting him and his friends, it must be confessed that there were certain eccentricities about him at this time, which afforded fair ground for animadversion. Spangenberg states that while still attending to his daily work, he not only withdrew himself from general society, but had as little communication as possible, even with his habitual fellow-labourers, and, giving himself up to deep and silent meditation before God, on all the various matters that he had to do with, gradually became almost a recluse. Although he seems to have derived great spiritual refreshment from these exercises, an unhealthy state of mind soon supervened; his imagination was naturally too strong to be kept in check without the influence of the social atmosphere; and hence we find him departing from the rule he himself had laid down, of strict adherence to the teaching of Scripture, and attaching undue importance to ideas of his own. In the synod at Marienborn, above referred to, he proposed, as a subject for consideration, the question whether the Holy Spirit should not be regarded as the mother of the faithful, in the same way as God the Father is their Father in Christ, and Christ the Husband of the Church; because the offices of a mother, such as instruction, warning, correction, comfort, and guidance, are ascribed to the Holy Spirit in Scripture.

The Synod sympathised with the Count's views, although the theologians were indignant at the introduction of the idea of maternity into that of the Trinity. But the Count himself subsequently acknowledged his error, in thus

prying into unrevealed mysteries, and publicly stated that expressions of this kind must be expunged from his writings, and must never be repeated ; adding, that he hated all speculation, however good the motive, that sought to penetrate into the deep things of God ; and that he thanked the Saviour for snatching him from the fire before he was consumed.

Zinzendorf's paradoxical mode of speaking also put a weapon into the hands of his antagonists. He had recommended this in the second synod held in Pennsylvania, as an advantageous way of presenting the truth, and he himself made free use of it. " If," says Spangenberg, " those who differed from him had taken the trouble to consider what he meant by such and such an expression, it would have been all very well. But they did not do this, and hence arose many disputes about words."

Most of the preachers of that age were in the habit of scrupulously guarding Scripture, and they would often balance one passage by means of others which they considered adapted to neutralise any false impressions. According to Spangenberg, Zinzendorf's plan was the very reverse of this. He was generally so completely absorbed in his subject, and the views he propounded stood out to his own mind in such intense clearness, that everything else was for the time eclipsed. It is true that what was left in the shade one day came to the foreground the next, and his habitual hearers had no difficulty in harmonising all the effects, and putting everything in its place. But those who only heard a single discourse found too much in it, or too little.

The followers of Zinzendorf went far beyond their master, and were so enamoured of the paradox, that they created a kind of poetico-theological jargon, which was only understood by the initiated, and which, being made the vehicle of an exaggerated and mistaken effort to speak in a tone of Christian simplicity and spiritual joy, proved even more opposed to the seriousness and dignity that marks the true Christian than the morose pietism of Spener.

It would not be right to charge all this upon Zinzendorf. It was but one of the symptoms of a tendency which has often been observed to follow revivals of religion. Sometimes, when the soul has recovered from the agonies of conversion, it knows not how to contain itself, and, in the rapturous consciousness of its new liberty, ventures upon perilous ground. The weakness and folly displayed in the scenic representations that became the fashion, especially at Herrnhag, from the years 1744 to 1749, were truly lamentable. Even the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Jesus were dramatised, and a large illuminative image was exhibited, which suddenly vanished, leaving nothing visible but the *pierced side*, that formed a door for those present to pass through.

These vagaries, although showing how good and enlightened men may be led aside, appear to have been harmless so far as the moral conduct of the Brethren was concerned; and thus proved the solidity of the basis on which their Christian life was founded.

The Count was for a long time blind to these indications of unsoundness in the spiritual state of the community,

although, even in their earlier stages, they had not escaped the discerning eye of John Wesley, and he had warned the leaders at Herrnhut against them. But when the evil at length forced itself upon his attention, he immediately took steps to repress it. On hearing that the birthday of his son, Christian René, had been celebrated with unusual ostentation, he had written to express his deep regret, and to warn his friends against the injurious influences connected with exhibitions of that kind; and he now wrote a letter in a severer tone than before, addressed to all the communities. His son, who had been carried away with the rest, did not escape a sharp rebuke. He was deprived of his appointment at Herrnhaag, and ordered to join his father in London; and David Nitschmann was sent forth on a visit of inspection to all the churches in Germany.

Happily the spell was soon broken, and the Brethren came out of the temptation humbler, and, in the end, stronger than before.

Baron Schrautenbach, himself a member of the same body, thinks that these aberrations may have arisen partly from a misunderstanding of Zinzendorf's sentiments with regard to Christian simplicity as opposed to everything formal and constrained, the importance of which he frequently urged both in public and in private; and partly from the natural influence of continued opposition, as tending to foster peculiarity, by driving its victims into exclusive association with one another, and rendering them defiant of public opinion. The following, however, are Zinzendorf's own observations on the subject, written after the crisis was past:—

"The test we have gone through has been brief but fearful. I probably occasioned it by giving utterance to an idea which I have never been able to lay aside, and which I still hold,—namely, that in order to enjoy all the blessings purchased for us by the death of Jesus, we must become children in the bottom of our hearts. I have been powerfully impressed by this idea, and when I came back from America I sought to inculcate it on my brethren. It found acceptance, and was immediately carried into effect. But what was at first a small circle of men, who really had the spirit of children, soon grew into a large society, and in a few years greatly degenerated. The abuse has arisen from the desire to appropriate the joyousness of childhood without its simplicity, sincerity, and obedience."

Contemporaneously with these unhappy circumstances, other and graver signs that the tares were growing with the wheat began to manifest themselves. Herrnhaag had attained dimensions which awakened alarm in the mind of the Count, and he had vainly endeavoured to retard its growth. The consequence was, that persons had obtained admission to its privileges whose character was not all that could be desired; and, in the absence of those statutes which could always be appealed to at Herrnhut, certain inconsistencies had come to be tolerated. Zinzendorf, however, did not interfere, as it was not his aim to enforce a merely external morality, but rather to secure rectitude of life by a change of heart. "However bad any one is," he said, "I would rather see him as he is than under a mask." And perhaps he was the more careful not to use any authority on this occasion, lest he should lay himself open to the

charge that was constantly made against him, of assuming the character of a pope, and placing on the neck of the Brethren a yoke which he himself was unwilling to bear.

At the same juncture, also, external dangers began to indicate themselves, which threatened the very existence of the chief communities in Germany. Frederick the Great had just invaded the states of the Elector of Saxony; and but for Frederick's protection, Herrnhut must have fallen a prey to the ravages of war. Marienborn, too, narrowly escaped from becoming a field of battle; the French troops on one side, and the Austrians and the English on the other, occupied encampments for a considerable time in the neighbourhood, and were daily expecting to face each other in mortal conflict. But, contrary to all that had been predicted, they retired without coming to any action. Nor was this all. A number of officers attended the meetings at Herrnhut, and lost the prejudices they had entertained against the Brethren. The generals expressly ordered that the inhabitants of Herrnhut should be respected as a religious community; and thus the hand of God averted the calamities that seemed inevitable.

A familiar anecdote, told by Bernardine de Saint Pierre, in his *Etudes de la Nature*, although belonging to a war which took place a little later, shows how it was that the members of these communities obtained the respect that was shown them.

"In the last war with Germany," he says, "a detachment of cavalry having been sent on a foraging expedition, came upon a sequestered valley, where they found a solitary

hut, surrounded by thick woods. An old man with a silvery beard came to the door, and the officer asked him to show them where they could find some corn. "Certainly," said the old man, who had come from Herrnhut, and he at once led them to the head of the valley, where they soon came to a fine field of barley. "This is just the thing," said the officer. "Wait a minute," was the reply, "and you will have all you want." So saying, their guide conducted them a short distance farther, and the soldiers dismounted, and began cutting. "The first field was better than this," the officer remarked. "Yes," answered the old man, "but that was not mine." If this poor cottager may be taken as a sample of the morality upheld among the United Brethren generally, the following illustration of the favourable regard in which they were held by the British Government is not surprising:—

The war between England and France respecting the imperial rights of the Archduchess Maria Theresa in Austria exposed the Moravian communities to many disadvantages, both in Great Britain and in the colonies, it having been rumoured that their missionaries were papists in disguise, pretending to convert the Indians, but really seeking to alienate them from England, and to gain them for France. The governor of New York published an edict, forbidding the missionaries to live among the Indians, and required them to declare on oath that King George was the only rightful sovereign of England. Many of the Brethren, partly out of attachment to the ancient rule of the Moravian Church which prohibited swearing, and partly out of consideration for the views of the Quakers and the

Mennonites, refused to take the oath, and were consequently imprisoned. The edict was soon afterwards revoked ; but the Count, fearing that the Brethren might be subject to a recurrence of these oppressive acts, exerted himself to get the matter taken up in the British Parliament ; and his efforts were so successful, that, in the year 1747, a bill was passed expressly exempting them from the oath in question, and speaking of them as a *sober, quiet, and industrious people*.

Early in that year, Zinzendorf left Marienborn, and took up his quarters in the house he had built at Herrnhaag. Disagreements had long been existing between the colony in that district and Count Ysemburg-Büdingen, on whose territories it was planted, and who was so jealous of its increasing prosperity that he not only tried to deprive its members of their guaranteed rights, but sought to impose on them burdens which had not been bargained for. The colonists naturally resisted this unfair treatment, and Count Büdingen applied to Zinzendorf to act as arbitrator. Zinzendorf did his best ; but both parties being equally determined not to give way, it was only with the utmost difficulty that he succeeded in bringing them to a provisional arrangement, which was to continue in force for five years. But the death of Count Büdingen in 1749 set all these plans aside. His son, a weak and prejudiced man, being easily persuaded that the Brethren wanted to usurp rights which did not belong to them, and that, if he did not take steps to prevent it, Zinzendorf would supplant him as the lord of the country, determined to get rid of his rival ; and, with this object, ordered the inhabitants of

Herrnhaag to take an oath of allegiance to himself as their only ruler, and to disavow all submission to their own authorities, especially to Zinzendorf. Those who refused to comply were to quit the country; but as the temporary arrangement of 1747 was unexpired, three years were allowed them for the process of emigration. This unparalleled piece of despotism was unanimously resisted by the inhabitants of Herrnhaag, as directly opposed to the original contract by virtue of which they had settled in the dominions of Count Büdingen. Zinzendorf being consulted, wrote from London, advising them to "suffer in silence;" and in the course of three days, after a fruitless effort to bring the Government to terms, ninety exiles were on their way to Pennsylvania, and others followed to Saxony, Silesia, Holland, and England, the educational establishments being transferred to Lusatia.

Count Büdingen soon repented of his rashness in thus depopulating his own states. His subjects, who severely felt the consequences, made loud complaints; and he himself went so far as to use his personal influence with those who yet remained to induce them to stay. But, in spite of the flattering promises that he now addressed to them, half of the nine hundred and seventy-three colonists at Herrnhaag left within a year; and before the time he had fixed for their departure, the whole community was gone.

The Countess of Zinzendorf was at Herrnhaag, with her son-in-law, when this persecution began, but left soon afterwards for London to inform her husband of what was passing. He was deeply grieved at first, but immediately set to work for the relief of the emigrants; and in writing on

the subject in the year 1750, he says:—" I shall always class this event among the special favours shown to us. . . . I do not speak of all those useful brethren and sisters who were trained there for the service of Christ ; but was it not there also that those unknown faults and hidden dangers, which have driven us to repentance, came to light ; and thus, while exercising a testing influence on all the communities, more fully revealed to us our own hearts ? "

CHAPTER XXV.

THE FOCUS IN LONDON.

WHILE the storm had gathered over Herrnhaag, the sky was bright in Lusatia. Zinzendorf had always had a presentiment that his banishment would last for ten years, and he had often mentioned this to his friends. But the ten years had rolled away, and the royal mandate was unrevoked. He therefore dismissed the matter from his thoughts; and when the beautiful estate of Hennersdorf, which belonged to his grandmother, and where he had passed his childhood, was offered him, he refused at first to buy it, and afterwards secured it for his daughter Benigna.

The Court of Saxony had forgotten Zinzendorf; but this incidental circumstance brought him to mind. It so happened that the King, having recently been in the neighbourhood of Herrnhut, had observed its prosperous appearance; and now it became a subject of general interest. Much was said about the peaceable character of its inhabitants, and the high credit the Moravian communities in general enjoyed with the wealthiest houses in London and Amsterdam; and it became a question, whether it was not a matter of injustice to continue the banishment of the Count. In short, the King wrote to Zinzendorf, telling him that

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he might return to Saxony, on condition that he would negotiate with his friends in Holland for a loan to the Electoral Government. Zinzendorf lost no time in giving this fresh proof of loyal attachment to his sovereign; and he arranged with one of the Brethren, named Beuning, for a loan of 150,000 florins. This prompt assistance to the royal treasury produced a highly favourable impression on the Court, and the Count was immediately informed that the King would be glad to see a number of establishments like that at Herrnhut rising up in his dominions. As an instalment of this, Zinzendorf was induced to found one at the Castle of Barby, which was given him in security for the sum borrowed by the King.

Zinzendorf repaired at once to Saxony, but only paid a passing visit to Herrnhut and Hennersdorf, as he thought it best not to settle down again, till his position had been regularly defined; and he was anxious that before the decree of banishment was officially revoked, he and the Brethren should undergo a strict examination. He urged this afterwards on the minister; but he was too late, as the revocation had already been sealed. Acting, therefore, on the minister's advice, he resumed his work at Herrnhut, as if nothing had transpired to interrupt it, but without any fixed plan for the future.

The investigation he asked for did not take place till the following year, and then it was instituted in consequence of his own repeated applications, and after much hesitation on the part of the Government. The matter had been gone into eleven years before, and it was thought unnecessary to re-open it. At length, however, the com-

mission met at the Castle of Hennersdorf, in July 1748, eleven of the Brethren being appointed by the Moravian Bishops to represent them. Zinzendorf did his best to keep in the background; but his friends pushed him forward, and he became the life and soul of the proceedings.

The Commissioners expressed themselves as satisfied with the answers of the Brethren, and with the sermons they heard from Zinzendorf; and they intimated that they were prepared to state, as their verdict, that they saw no reason why the Government should not afford the Moravians its protection. This was all the Count wanted. He claimed a formal and explicit recognition of the entire conformity of the Moravian faith and institutions to the Augsburg Confession. But the Commissioners, while acknowledging as their private opinion what the Count wished them publicly to certify, considered that this did not come within the range of the inquiry they were ordered to make. The result, however, was a decided triumph for the Brethren; and Teller, a Professor of Theology at Leipsic, who had formerly written against them, now became one of their warmest friends. "No one," he said, after the business was over, "will believe us, when we go home and report what we have seen here." Another of the Commissioners, Dr Hermann, an ecclesiastical councillor, and the first court-preacher in Saxony, even accepted the office of President of the Lutheran Trope* of the Unity, which the Count had filled up to that time.

* The word *Trope*, meaning *Mode* or *Fashion*, was used to indicate that the members of the three churches—the Lutheran, Reformed, Moravian—within the *Unity*, carried out the usages of their own respective churches.

The Count was now satisfied as to Herrnhut, and meditated a resumption of the labours he had recently broken off in the Wetterau. But the resolution of the Senate of England, in 1747, had failed to render the position of the Brethren in the British dominions as secure as Zinzendorf wished to see it; and he thought it necessary, in the first place, to take up the work he had left unfinished in London. The opposition so long sustained against the Brethren, in the different States of Germany, was just beginning to act upon public opinion in England. They were too conservative to please Dissenters; and the Episcopal Clergy, not having seen much of them, confounded them with the Methodists. They were, in general, unknown or misunderstood; and people were too ready to listen to the unfavourable reports that floated over from the Continent.

The first news that met Zinzendorf, as he landed at Harwich, on the 1st of January 1749, was, that an edict had just been issued against the Brethren by the Government of Hanover. Although no cause could be assigned for this, and indeed there was no means of putting it in force, for not a single member of that body existed in that country, it made a considerable sensation both in England and in France, and offered a precedent to the British Government. Zinzendorf immediately wrote to King George II., to point out the injustice of this decree, and got a petition presented to the House of Commons, praying for a formal recognition of the community of the Brethren. The petition was referred to a committee of forty members, who, after examining the documents furnished by the Count,

and questioning the delegates, presented a favourable report. The petition having then been remitted in the form of a bill, to a new committee of seventy members, was unanimously adopted.

But it remained a question whether the same success would attend it in the Lords. The Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, and several other influential members, had opposed it at the outset, and it was feared that their example would tell powerfully against it. But Zinzendorf was not discouraged. He addressed to them explanatory letters; and after consenting to some emendations, had the satisfaction of seeing the measure adopted by the unanimous consent of the Upper House.

This Act of Parliament secured two advantages,—

1. The antiquity of the *Unitas Fratrum*, and its character as an Evangelical and Episcopal Church were recognised.

2. The members of this society were freed from the obligation to take oaths, or to sit on a jury, and they were exempted from military service.

But what most pleased the Count, was the serious attention given to the whole matter. The petition was discussed no less than eighteen times; and several distinguished personages, among whom was the Prince of Wales, took a deep interest in it. "But," says Spangenberg, "whatever importance he attached to all this, he repeatedly warned the Brethren against thinking too much of their success; and urged them to maintain a childlike confidence in the Saviour, on whose support and protection alone they could always depend."

The effect of this measure was soon felt; letters poured in from all directions in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the American Colonies, inviting the Moravians to found establishments; and, on the death of Kochius, during the same year, the venerable Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, readily accepted the title and office of *President of the Reformed Trope of the Unity*.

Immediately after these events, the affairs of the Unity called the Count for a short time to the Continent, where he announced to all the Brethren his fixed purpose to devote himself in future solely to the special duties of the ministry; and he then took up his abode for the next four years in England. During this continental visitation, he had been called upon to give his opinion, in a synod held at Barby, as to the best way of dealing with the incessant attacks which the theologians of Germany continued to make upon the Brethren. These assaults did not alarm Zinzendorf; and he would have counselled silence, his own experience in apologetic controversy having disposed him strongly to question its utility. But as there was a general desire to take some active steps in the matter, and Spangenberg had been appointed to collate the various objections published against the society, and to answer them, Zinzendorf so far yielded to the wishes of others as to furnish him with some valuable notes,—accompanied, however, by a letter, in which he stated his views on the question of replying at all, which he requested Spangenberg to insert in his book after the Preface.

Spangenberg subsequently published two works, the one containing answers to more than three hundred, and the

other to upwards of a thousand accusations. It would be useless to follow the author of these volumes through this weary argumentation. But there was one point, on which Zinzendorf differed from the orthodox divines, that deserves to be noted. Spangenberg refers to it as follows:—

“It is well known that the Count, in speaking of the Bible, often expressed himself in a way that seemed strange to the orthodox theologians of that age. So far from entering the lists, as they did, against every one who objected to the Bible because of its style, chronology, and matters of that sort, he used terms in reference to the manner in which the biblical authors wrote that exposed him to severe criticism. The fact was, that, looking at the great difficulties which many passages present, he thought it far better to acknowledge these difficulties than to rest upon absurd, or even insufficient, interpretations; and he considered that, when arguments that are wanting, or seem to be wanting, in sincerity, are used in defence of religion, those who occupy the opposite ground are driven to think lightly of all other lines of reasoning that may be adopted.”

“I do not admit,” said Zinzendorf himself, “that I have found, as I am said to have done, defects, contradictions, etc., in Scripture. It only amounts to this, that I am modest and timid enough to believe that our little communities ought also to be timid, modest, and reserved; and that they should not have the presumption to stand up against everybody for the clearness of Scripture, the faultless connexion and perfect exactitude of all the expressions, all the histories, &c. If we deal in sophisms and theological babbling, and go to war on behalf of the Bible, we are lost,

and our community will lose every vestige of apostolic power."

"The Count, however," says Spangenberg, "deeply regretted not having taken more pains to defend certain passages against infidel objections, and to prevent the pernicious influences that many minds, even among the Brethren, might be expected to imbibe from this source. He felt that, on this account, he well deserved to have so many parts of his own writings misinterpreted."

Having paid rapid visits to Barby, Herrnhut, Niesky, (a colony founded in 1742 by Bohemian emigrants,) Gnadenberg, Ebersdorf, and Montmirail, and strengthened his friends in all those places by his earnest words, Zinzendorf returned to London, adopted for himself the title of *Disciple*, which afterwards became the ordinary designation of the Brethren generally; and having announced his intention to consecrate all his energies to the work of preaching and the cure of souls, begged his associates to release him from all other duties for a few months, and to act as if he were absent, that he might hold undisturbed communion with the Saviour, and review the whole of his labours during the past thirty years. His wish was complied with as far as possible, although cases frequently occurred in which his counsel could not be dispensed with.

It must not be supposed, however, that he passed his time inactively. It was simply that he sought freedom from the embarrassments of administrative office, in order to pursue his more purely spiritual work with greater concentration and effect. He was most careful in the use of his time. He had a regular plan of labour drawn out,

which he frequently read over, and in which every hour for several months in advance was specially appropriated; and when any unforeseen circumstance threw out his arrangements, he sometimes stole a large portion of the night to make up for lost time. Several of these plans, with numerous annotations, were discovered after his death. His solitude did not always conduce to their practical success, his imagination often carrying him away from the immediate matter in hand; so that he did not complete what he had begun, as in the case of the *Enchiridion*, or *Manual of Holy Scripture*, intended to be a digest of the entire Bible, but going no farther than the book of Exodus.

But it was now that Zinzendorf realised for a while the fond idea he had so long cherished, and gave his whole soul to the proclamation of the gospel. He had daily assemblies in his house, which was thrown open to all comers; and though the meetings were sometimes protracted, he introduced as much variety as possible, by having frequent interchanges of singing and prayer, and never preaching more than a quarter of an hour.

It need hardly be said, after what the reader has learned of Zinzendorf's ministry, that the sum and substance of every discourse was "Jesus Christ, and Him crucified."

"I beseech you," he said, on one occasion, (and these few sentences may be taken as an epitome of all his public teaching,) "to run to Him who is the only subject of all our preaching, singing, and conversation; I beseech you to give your heart, mind, and will,—in short, your whole being, unreservedly to Him. You will then come to know a greater happiness than can be told in words,—greater, far

greater, than I can describe to you, although I have for some time experienced it myself. This happiness is in its nature eternal. We shall not lose it with our mortal existence, but it will accompany us, and remain with us, till we appear before our Saviour ; and it will only increase through all eternity."

The season of relief from temporal harassments, thus happily employed, was not of long duration. Zinzendorf's residence was soon besieged by Brethren from Holland and Germany, as well as by missionaries from America, or others on the point of embarking for that country ; and we find him engaged in successive transactions with the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Worcester, Lord Chesterfield, the Duke of Argyle, and with Lord Granville, of whom he purchased a hundred thousand acres of land in North Carolina for a colony.

A synod that met in London in 1750, had modified the office of the diaconate or department of finances, and had appointed Zinzendorf to nominate deacons, and to superintend their action ; for, as Spangenberg informs us, although he was not apt at financial economy, he had always been the first to venture his fortune, and that of his family, in the cause ; and his brethren seem to have considered him, on account of his many other qualifications, the fittest man for the post. He himself would have been glad to vacate it ; but he did not see his way clear to such a step. As it was, he did his best to provide the vast resources that now became requisite, in this period of development and extension, to carry on the constantly-increasing agencies at home and abroad. But, when this office was devolved on him,

the pecuniary affairs of the society were greatly involved, and he found it impossible to prevent the accumulation of an immense deficit. The deacons were at length obliged to have recourse to a new loan; and as nobody would advance anything except on condition that Zinzendorf became personally responsible, he took this liability entirely on himself.

While these cares were pressing upon the Count, a deep grief was appointed for him. His only remaining son, Christian René, died on the 28th of May 1752, twenty-four years of age.

This amiable young man had been for two years his father's most active assistant and secretary; and in addition to this had devoted himself with exemplary zeal to the interest of the different *choirs* of unmarried Brethren. It might have been expected that the active life he thus led, and his entire consecration to the service of Christ, would have tended to banish the remembrance of those inconsistencies into which he and others had been drawn at Herrnhag, and which might fairly have been regarded as the effervescence of his youthful piety. But he looked upon them as the bitter fruit of sin, and could never forgive himself. His natural cheerfulness, and vivacity passed away; and a melancholy seriousness followed, which undermined his health, and probably initiated the first stages of consumption. His father did not perceive the extent of the danger, and was not with him at the time of his death. His mother, on hearing of his illness, immediately left Herrnhut, in the hope of seeing him once more; but she was too late. She received the tidings of

his departure before she could sail from Holland; and when she reached the shores of England, it was as a fellow-mourner with her sorrowing husband. The Countess did not remain long in England, the affairs of Herrnhut requiring her presence there; for during the absence of Zinzendorf, she had become quite the mainstay of that community.

An unforeseen circumstance at this moment precipitated the pecuniary crisis, which, in spite of all the Count's efforts, had for some time threatened the Brotherhood. Some merchants, who were members of the Church, and had formerly lent considerable sums to the deacons, were suddenly plunged into difficulties by a fraudulent bankruptcy, and were compelled to withdraw the amounts they had advanced. This brought on a panic among the creditors of the community, who all poured in their accounts and demanded payment.

The deacons were on the point of announcing their insolvency; and it seemed as if the time had arrived for the enemies of this society to triumph over its downfall. Public opinion, too, began to form against it, the English journals filled their columns with attacks upon the Moravians, and there was reason to fear that a London mob might finish the work of destruction.

Zinzendorf could not consider that he deserved the blame of all this, for though he had nominated the deacons, and was invested with authority to direct their movements, being little versed himself in matters of that kind, and thoroughly confiding in their prudence and skill, he had for a long time left the details of this department in

their hands. But he felt that if he had exercised more active vigilance from the first, the calamity might have been prevented; and he therefore reproached himself for his neglect.

Although he had large responsibilities resting upon him, he wrote to all the creditors of the deacons, offering to make himself answerable for the entire debt, and to reimburse it by instalments, meantime paying them interest. Almost all the claimants accepted these terms, and some of them who refused to do so out of ill-will to the Brethren, were immediately paid off by the rest. Thus the danger was averted; but it entailed a heavy load on Zinzendorf, and instead of being able to give himself to the sole work of the gospel ministry, his faculties were continually on the stretch to find money for the wants of the day. One day he was expecting to be arrested for debt, through the non-arrival of a sum that he had reckoned upon for a payment that was due; and he had actually made preparations for going to prison, when the post came in sooner than usual, and brought him exactly the amount that he wanted.

"During this year of trouble," says Verbeek, "the Count experienced many signal instances of Divine aid. As his difficulties increased, he gained more confidence in Jesus, and looked more simply to Him. He regarded this financial struggle as a chastisement which the Lord had seen fit to inflict on the Brethren, and he thought that it would be wrong to desire the cessation of the trial till it had accomplished its end. It was his opinion that two principal errors had been fallen into,—one was, that those habits of economy which were followed at first had been

departed from; and the other, that there had been too much delay in the work of financial reform. He deemed himself more guilty than any one else, on these two heads; he confessed that he had been very remiss in not setting to work energetically at the outset to remedy the evil; and he went so far as to address all the communities on the subject, and to request that they would deprive him of all his offices. The reply he received was, that he could not possibly be spared."

The Christian finds joy in adversity as well as in prosperity. To look upon the invisible God as a Father who is concerned for our good, to see His hand, and to see Him extend it over us, whether to bless or to correct us, is like heavenly food to the soul that lives by faith, and there is no earthly happiness to be compared with it.

It was so with Zinzendorf. "It is true," he said, in a discourse preached in July 1753, "the sun has burnt me this year. But my heart is not like a sea tossed with the tempest; it is quite calm and tranquil; and, although I have been humbled, and it becomes me to speak in a lower tone, still I can say, I am happy, and considering everything, I think I never was happier."

We cannot follow Zinzendorf through all his unremitting labours during the two years of his further residence in England. A severe illness in the early part of 1754, a visit from the Countess in the course of that year, and two important synods, form the chief external events of this portion of his life. In one of these synods, John Gambold received episcopal consecration, and was appointed Bishop of the community in London.

Lindsay House, where the Count had recently taken up his abode, and which he had adapted to his purpose, was the constant resort of missionaries and others connected with the Church, and became the centre of the community. It contained a vast number of rooms, with large halls for meetings; and a printing establishment, a chapel, and a cemetery were connected with it. But Zinzendorf was not permitted long to enjoy it. His presence being needed in Holland and in Germany, he appointed John Watteville to take the general superintendence of the communities in England and Ireland, with thirty other *workers* to assist him; and having addressed a pastoral letter to his friends in England, under the title of *Statutes*, or the *General Principles of Practical Christianity*, and published also, in compliance with the wish expressed by a large number of individuals, a fresh refutation of the charges brought against the society in England, he left London on the 24th of March 1755. In 1756 the sermons he had preached there, from 1751 to 1755, were collected and printed in two volumes, forming a kind of sequel to his *Discourses in Berlin*.

Within a few months after he quitted the shores of England, never to see them again, Zinzendorf lost the beloved companion whom he had just rejoined at Herrnhut. She had long been feeling the effects of her arduous and anxious life, and she had never recovered the blow she received on the death of her son René. Ever since that event her spirits had declined, and her natural energy had left her. She became gradually weaker, though there was no appearance of actual disease, and she sank to rest on the

19th of June 1756, at the age of fifty-three. Her death was an incalculable loss to the community as well as to her husband. The words adapted by the Count from the Apocrypha to be used in the funeral service at Hennersdorf, formed a fitting epilogue on her life—

“The Lord hath wrought great glory by her. She gave counsel by her understanding, and declared prophecies. She led the people by her counsels; and by her knowledge of learning meet for the people, was wise and eloquent in her instructions.

“With her seed shall continually remain a good inheritance, and her children are within the covenant. Her seed standeth fast, and her children for her sake. Her seed shall remain for ever, and her glory shall not be blotted out. The people will tell of her wisdom, and the congregation will show forth her praise.”—Ecclesiasticus xlv. 2-5, and 11-15.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EVENING.

WAR was now raging on both sides of the Atlantic, and threatened to sweep away the most flourishing establishments of the Brethren, both in Europe and in America. While France was defending the frontiers of Canada as they had been fixed in the treaty of Utrecht, Frederick the Great was engaged in a heroic struggle with Austria, Saxony, France, Sweden, and Russia. This famous contest, known as the *Seven Years' War*, commenced with the invasion of Saxony by Prussia. Herrnhut was so situated that it formed a thoroughfare for troops, and was taxed to the utmost to supply the wants of the regiments as they passed through it. But the Saviour watched over it, and preserved it in a remarkable manner. On the very day that the Prussian soldiery entered the Saxon Kingdom, the *Word of command* read in the Moravian communities, from their book of *Texts*, for that day, was the passage Luke xxi. 9: *But when ye shall hear of wars and commotions, be not terrified*; and these words were a source of continual comfort and encouragement.

The following is the sketch given by Zinzendorf, in a letter to Spangenberg, of what transpired during the years 1756 and 1757:—

"Saxony has been invaded. The whole country, including Upper Lusatia, has fallen into the hands of the King of Prussia, in a single month. Though Herrnhut was the head-quarters of a whole army for two months, no soldiers were billeted upon the inhabitants. During the six months that we had them in our neighbourhood, we were protected by the Prince of Prussia, the Duke of Bavaria, and a host of other distinguished personages, all of whom were disabused of the prejudices they had imbibed from the writings of our antagonists. Although troops were levied from every other locality, Herrnhut was passed by, and Berthelsdorf has escaped by means of a subsidy of money. . . . In the midst of all these troubles the community has accomplished the erection of its new church. The foundation-stone was laid on the 12th of May 1756, and the dedication took place on the 13th of August 1757, on which day thirteen hundred Brethren and Sisters partook of the Holy Supper. . . . One Sunday we gave out 2000 pounds of bread to the Austrians, and we kept the Prussian rear-guard from first to last. The Austrian and the Prussian sutlers met at Berthelsdorf without saying a word. The same day, some Austrian Hussars committed some pillage in the house of the Brethren. We might have complained to the authorities; but we did not; and it was the first and last act of the kind. Prince Charles of Lorraine furnished our communities with military guards to see that no one was molested.

"Our lands were horribly ravaged by the Prussians and Austrians; but not a single skirmish took place in our neighbourhood; and the Saviour, in His grace, even averted

the great battle that appeared imminent near Zittau. The Brethren found the greatest difficulty in supplying the troops, but Herrnhut was saved. The Pandors (Hungarian Hussars), as they are called, were as gentle as children. A vast number of princes, great lords, and generals visited Herrnhut, and all of them showed respect and affection."

These occurrences did not divert Zinzendorf from his ordinary work. Herrnhut had its political sympathies. A great number of the Brethren sided with the King of Prussia, who had always favoured their church, and whom they regarded as the representative of Protestantism. Zinzendorf, on the contrary, out of loyalty, continued cordially attached to the cause of his Sovereign. But he knew how the feverish influences of political agitation injure the soul; and, therefore, instead of participating in the excitement of the war, he calmly committed himself and his associates to the hands of God, and even discouraged conversation on the events that were passing. His banishment, and the wandering life he had so long led, had taught him that his rest was not to be on earth, but in the eternal mansions of heaven.

Another cause, however, tended to interrupt the usual course of his labours. The void left by the death of the Countess was soon painfully felt in its effects on Zinzendorf's habits. He became more and more disposed to seclusion; and, instead of observing the regularity which had been one of his prominent characteristics, he sometimes gave himself up to listless inaction; and then, to overtake his duties, spending whole nights in writing, and

thus disordered his already feeble health. His home affairs suffered seriously; the society of *pilgrims* or *disciples*, as they were now called, that formed part of his household, and of which the Countess had been the life and soul, gradually broke up, and the change that had occurred in one single house, like a blow struck at a nation's capital, affected the entire community.

The friends of the Count, sensible of the injury that was likely to accrue from this state of things, persuaded him to marry again; and on the 27th of June 1757, just a year after the death of his first wife, he married Anna Nitschmann. She was the daughter of David Nitschmann, and in her childhood had been employed in tending her father's cows. But it was through her instrumentality that the great spiritual awakening among the children at Herrnhut, which has already been referred to, was brought about; and at the age of *fifteen* she was elected to the office of *elder* among the Sisters, which she filled for thirty years.

Two months after his marriage the Count, accompanied by his new wife, two of his daughters, his son-in-law, and several pilgrims, took a preaching excursion in Switzerland, visiting the principal seats of population, and holding meetings from place to place. Zinzendorf preached in German; but as many of his hearers only understood French, he either got some one of the congregation to translate, or, failing this, translated himself into that language. We may here mention, among his writings during this year (1757), a harmony of the Gospels, entitled the *History of the Days of the Son of Man*, which has found a welcome beyond the boundaries of his church, and is still extensively

read. It has been translated into French. His discourses, during this tour were published in 1768.

The evening of Zinzendorf's life was not a season of rest, but one of intenser activity than ever. His tour through Switzerland had been anything but a holiday; for when he was not preaching, he was constantly engaged in anxious conversation with individuals requiring his spiritual guidance; and after a very perilous and fatiguing journey through rain and snow, he once more reached Wirtemberg, only to find that most of his friends had abandoned him with a feeling of distrust. But he was not disheartened, though his constitution nearly gave way under two successive and dangerous illnesses; and as soon as a little strength was restored, he threw his whole heart and soul into the spiritual culture of the community at Herrnhut. When Herrnhut was but a small group of colonists, and the Count concentrated his attention chiefly upon that spot, he made a weekly inquiry into the moral and physical state of every member of the church; and Spangenberg says that when the end of the week arrived, he would not go to bed until he had ascertained exact particulars about each one. The growth of the colony now rendered this plan impracticable; and Zinzendorf therefore endeavoured to attain the same result by multiplying the number of *workers*, subdividing the members according to their ages, and appointing assistants to superintend the subdivisions. He also composed a number of new hymns for the use of the various choirs in their meetings, and one specially designed for the *Diaspora*, or the children of God scattered throughout the world. Nor was

the mission field forgotten. During the summer of 1758, after short visits to Kleinwelke and Barby, he was to be seen taking part in a number of missionary conferences at Heerendyk in Holland; and though his increasing feebleness obliged him not only to give up working at night, but to rest for some hours in the day, and to take regular meals, which he had never been accustomed to do, yet he held three meetings daily at his own dwelling, in addition to the conferences.

Early in the year 1759, the Count received a letter from the Coptic Patriarch, at Cairo, sent by some of the Brethren who had been in Egypt. The patriarch expressed his Christian regard for the Brethren, and asked for information as to the history of their church, and as to what they believed respecting the Trinity, the incarnation, the crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension.

Zinzendorf gladly seized this opportunity of explaining the doctrines held by himself and his friends, and forthwith addressed a circumstantial reply to the patriarch's inquiries. His letter, a translation of which will be found in the Appendix to this volume, is remarkable for the warmth of feeling it manifests when he refers to the all-commanding topic of the Saviour's love, and for the enlarged and liberal views he expresses in reference to other churches. This thorough catholicity is the more to be admired, because it is so rare in the founders of societies and institutions generally. Though his colleagues found it hard to suppress the desire for the enlargement of their own church at the expense of others, Zinzendorf fought with all his might against this tendency. "If we do not keep to our original

plan," he said, a few days before his death, "we shall accomplish nothing. This plan must be invariable; we must adhere to it in life and death, and not give up an *iota* of it. I foresee that you will depart from it. But I will leave my protest behind me, so that after I am gone, and am with the Saviour, it may be known that I never approved of this course. . . I have never once seen an effort to multiply the number of establishments, or to enlarge them, result in any good. Be assured that if the Saviour wishes great things, He will do great things; and if a handful of people is sufficient for Him, He will let them remain a handful, and will not pay them less attention than if they were a numerous flock."

The striking words he uttered in one of the meetings at Heerendyk, show that his mind was deeply impressed with this idea.

"We, and all the children of God," he said, "should attend to the manifestations that have taken place in the kingdom of Christ—to the demonstrations and new revelations of the power and glory of the gospel. If the gospel manifests itself anywhere with greater distinctness than it has done previously among the Brethren, they are bound to join this new economy; and if, on the other hand, they retain what has been given them, and it pleases the Saviour to make them grow in His grace, and in the knowledge of Him, other children of God will unite with them in a spiritual communion on the foundation of the same faith; and then it may be, that the economy of grace in which the Saviour has made use of the Brethren, will be continued till His coming."

The desire to depart and be with Christ grew with Zinzendorf's years ; and it was only the intimate fellowship he enjoyed with his heavenly Friend, and the joy he felt in labouring for Him, that sustained him in waiting for the consummation of his happiness. During the few months that immediately preceded his death, he never intimated to his friends that he had any presentiment of it ; but the increasing ardour he manifested in his work left little doubt as to what was before his own mind. Spangenberg remarks, that he laboured like a man who had much to do and little time to do it in. At the commencement of the year 1760, he called together all the Brethren (to the number of about two hundred) who filled any office in the Church, or were engaged in any work for Christ ; and he proposed to have weekly conferences with them in reference to the fundamental principles pertaining to such Christian service. These conferences were regularly held up to a few days before he died ; and he also had daily confidential interviews with certain of the Brethren, in which the general interests of the community, missions, &c., were made the subject of devout consideration.

He now determined to seek the personal acquaintance of every member of the Church, that he might ascertain the spiritual state of each one. This was a vast undertaking ; and, considering the large number of inhabitants at Herrnhut, it might well have appeared a simple impossibility. But Zinzendorf, instead of recoiling before the difficulty, resolutely set to work, and in four months from that time, there was scarcely an individual in the colony that he had not conversed with privately, as he proposed.

While the result in some cases filled him with grief, he was rejoiced to find that the great majority were under the all-constraining influence of Divine grace, and he was anxious to celebrate the goodness of God in thus preserving his brethren, by a solemn public thanksgiving. This, however, did not take place till some time after his removal.

Zinzendorf's last writing was a collection of *Texts* for the year following. He finished and re-read it a few days before he died. The passages he selected for the last five days of the year proved to be his farewell words to the Church on earth.

We have blessed you out of the house of the Lord.—

Ps. cxviii. 26.

Every one according to his blessing he blessed them.—

GEN. xlix. 28.

*The Lord shall increase you more and more, you and your children.—*Ps. cxv. 14.

*And let the peace of God rule in your hearts.—*COL. iii. 15.

*And the King turned his face about, and blessed all the congregation of Israel.—*1 KINGS viii. 14.

Zinzendorf had planned a visit to Zeitz, but postponed it on account of the state of his wife's health, which caused him great uneasiness; and in the meantime his own days drew to a close.

The following particulars of the final scene were preserved in the journal of one of the Brethren who was then at Herrnhut.

On the 5th of May, although he had had but little sleep, he wanted to finish, in the morning, the work that he had

laid out for that day. One of his friends having urged him to leave it and finish it another day, he replied cheerfully, "No! we must not rest till we have tried!" He then went on writing, and when the manuscript was finished he gave it to his friend, saying, "Now, I may rest!" He dined at table, that day, for the last time, but ate little, and complained of great thirst. After dinner he composed an ode of thirty-six stanzas, in commemoration of a special service held among the unmarried sisters; and in the evening he attended an *agape*, but retired soon after and lay down greatly fatigued. He had very close conversation during the evening with his three daughters and some others, and observed, in reference to his illness, "Every time I have been ill, I have sought to find out the cause, and have asked myself what the Lord meant to reprove me for. As soon as I discovered this, I told my friends of it, for I knew that the Lord does not forbid our confessing our sins to His children, but that, if we do so, He mitigates the chastisement. I have followed this practice all my life, and I have always asked forgiveness of my enemies the moment I found that I was in the wrong in reference to them. Although they have often abused my frankness, I have not on that account abandoned it, for the Saviour knows how to vindicate the honour of His servants. But this time I am sure that my illness is not intended as a message of that kind. My soul is quite calm, and I am perfectly at peace with my Saviour."

Zinzendorf's disease appears to have been a violent catarrhal fever. During the night before the 6th of May, he was very restless, and grew considerably weaker. But

his mind was as active as ever. He corrected a part of his compilation of *Texts*, had the letters that arrived from missionaries and from various communities read to him, and conversed with those present. His wife came to see him for the last time, for she was very ill also, and was near her end.

During the night of the 6th, the disease rapidly advanced; and an obstinate cough made it very difficult for him to speak; but he was able to express his heartfelt pleasure in seeing his oldest friend, Frederick Watteville, and Count Reuss, who came to take leave of him.

That night the *workers* of the Church took it in turn to watch at his bedside. He gave each of them an affectionate welcome as they succeeded each other, but could say very little. He had no proper sleep, but only dosed now and then for a few seconds. But on the 8th, though fast losing strength, he was apparently fresher than he had been from the commencement of the attack. He gave a fond embrace to all who came to see him, and his heart overflowed with the warmest feelings of love. "I cannot express to you," he said to his son-in-law and some others, "how much I love you. I am so happy. How delightful it is to be so united as we are! It is like heaven." "Would you have believed," he added, addressing another of the circle around him, "that the prayer of Christ—that *they may be one*—could have been so strikingly fulfilled amongst us?" As he uttered these words his face beamed with joy, and he went on to speak of several Brethren and Sisters who had already passed the flood, and were mingling with the ransomed host above.

In the course of the afternoon he completed the revision of the book of *Texts*, and then talked of what the Saviour had done for him and for the community during the last thirty years. "Did you suppose at the outset," he said to David Nitschmann, and some of the other older members, "that the Saviour would do all that our eyes have seen for our communities, and for the scattered children of God, and for the heathen? As to these last, I only asked for some first-fruits, and thousands have been given us!"

In the evening he had short intervals of dreaming, during which he spoke about some of the communities in Silesia. But during the former part of that night, which was his last, his mind was perfectly clear and collected; he conversed with the Saviour, wrote a good deal, and mentioned several Brethren whom he wished to speak to again. At midnight, however, his speech became confused, and a violent choking, which lasted for some few minutes, left him for a considerable time quite speechless. Towards morning he recovered his power of utterance, and thanked the Saviour for restoring it. "I am quite satisfied," he said, "with my Lord's dispensations. He has very precise purposes concerning His disciple, although you do not now understand Him. I find that I have pretty well finished what I had to do among you; and if I am now to go, you know what I think." There he stopped, and was unable to proceed. But soon afterwards, John Watteville, who had been sent for, arrived, and the Count beckoned him near to him, for he could only speak in a very low voice. "Well," he said, "my dear John, my beloved John! I am going to the Saviour. I am ready, I am

quite at the command of my Master, and *He is satisfied with me*. If He does not wish to employ me any longer here below, I am quite ready to go to Him, for I have nothing else to keep me here." He then arranged with his son-in-law about some matters that he wished him to attend to, and sent for his daughters. But before they could obey the summons, another paroxysm came on, and again deprived him of the power of speech, so that he could only make a slight sign of recognition, and show them by his fond looks what he wanted to say.

By this time about a hundred of the Brethren and Sisters had gradually assembled, either in the room or near the door; and the Count, raising his eyes, looked at them affectionately several times, his countenance beaming with unspeakable joy, and the spectators only answering with floods of tears. His last look was placid and saintly, as that of one who had already laid aside the mantle of mortality. At nine o'clock in the morning his breathing became easier, but his head drooped and the eyelids closed.

The solemn moment had come, and John Watteville broke the deep stillness of the scene with the prayer once uttered by an aged pilgrim who had waited for the consolation of Israel:—*Now, Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.*—Luke ii. 29.

He then laid his hands upon the head of the dying one, and pronounced the benediction:—

The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.—Num. vi. 24-26.

At the last word, *peace*, Zinzendorf's spirit passed away to eternal rest. His departure was announced to the community by the sound of a trumpet, according to a custom which still subsists among the Moravians. There was not a dry eye in all Herrnhut, and nature appeared to sympathise with the general grief; for although it was in the bright month of May, the heavens were hung in mourning, a thick, dark mist having shrouded everything for many hours.

At three o'clock in the afternoon a meeting was held in the common hall, and John Watteville gave an account of what had transpired during the dying hours of the deceased. Then all knelt down and thanked God for what He had done by the hand of His servant.

The next day the mortal remains of Zinzendorf, dressed in the white robe worn by the ministers of his church when performing their sacred functions, were brought into the saloon in a coffin with purple hangings; and all the choirs in succession, beginning with the little children, came to see the last of their beloved friend. In the evening the coffin was closed; but little companies of visitors continually gathered round it, singing hymns, and speaking of the life to come.

The funeral did not take place till the 16th of May. More than two thousand spectators, from the surrounding towns and villages, lined the road to the cemetery. A detachment of imperial guards was sent from Zittau, by the commandant, to keep order, if necessary.

The company assembled outside the common house at five o'clock in the evening; and at a signal given by the

trumpeters, the body was brought out, some verses of a hymn were sung, and then the procession moved off. The pupils in the schools at Hennersdorf, Nieski, and Herrnhut walked first, and two thousand one hundred members of the Church of the Brethren followed. The coffin was surrounded by thirty-two pastors or deacons of the Church, who had come from different parts of Germany, as well as from Holland, England, America, and Greenland,—sixteen at a time acting as bearers.

Zinzendorf was laid in the peaceful burial-place on the Hutberg, by the side of his first wife; and one who was present said that the devoutness and solemnity of that service was like the celebration of a sacrament.

The spot was marked by a simple stone, larger than the rest; and an inscription, commencing with the words,—

*Here lie the bones of a man
whose memory will never fade.*

APPENDIX.

NOTE 1. ZINZENDORF'S DESCENDANTS AND HEIRS.

ZINZENDORF had twelve children by his first marriage—six sons and six daughters, most of whom died in infancy. Only three daughters survived him—Benigna, the wife of John Watteville; Mary Agnes, who afterwards married Count Maurice of Dohna, also a member of the Church of the Brethren; and Elizabeth, who became the wife of Baron Frederick Watteville, the son of Nicholas Watteville.

A daughter of Benigna was married to the brother of John Christian Alexander, of Schweinitz; and her descendants, many of whom are *workers* in the Church, are all settled in the American communities; they constitute the sole remains of his family.

His second wife, Anna Nitschmann, survived him only a few days, and was buried by his side.

At the time of Zinzendorf's death, the debt for which he was responsible on behalf of the community, and which had been contracted to meet its necessities, amounted to 1,631,766 thalers, or about £280,000. As this sum exceeded the value of his property, and the Brethren were anxious to relieve his family, as far as possible, of the burden, they constituted the community his heir, settled a pension for life on his daughters, and in about forty years entirely extinguished the debt.

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The manors of Berthelsdorf and Hennersdorf now belong to the Moravian Brethren, whose fathers came there as exiles from their own land ; and their experience forms a living commentary on the words of the Saviour : " Verily I say unto you, There is no man that hath left house, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's sake, who shall not receive manifold more in this present time, and in the world to come life everlasting," (Luke xviii. 29, 30.)

NOTE 2. SPANGENBERG'S AND SCHRAUTENBACH'S DESCRIPTIONS
OF ZINZENDORF.

(1.) "The Count," says Spangenberg, "was a man of an exceedingly quick intellect, and both worked and thought unwearyingly. His fertile brain teemed with original ideas, which he often expressed in terms that appeared strange. He was also singularly inventive, both in scheming useful enterprises, and in combining the means of their execution ; and on these subjects he always spoke with great animation.

"His memory was prompt and retentive, although it was not always certain in matters of detail.

"He was of such an active nature that it was difficult for him to do nothing. Nor could he work slowly ; and when once he had undertaken anything, he devoted all his faculties to it, and did not leave it till it was finished. He did not like to be interrupted in his work ; but when this was absolutely necessary, he could soon give himself with equal concentration to the fresh business that had presented itself, although he found it very difficult to go back to what he had in hand before.

"As far as I can form an idea of Luther's temperament, I should judge that Zinzendorf's greatly resembled it. . . . His feelings were quick, strong, and apt to carry him too far. Charity sometimes made him too indulgent, and zeal too severe.

Matters of a painful kind generally affected him too much ; and on the other hand, when he was joyful, his joy, though not going to excess, possessed his whole soul. When he was anxious about any one or anything, he imagined the worst, and it was not an easy thing to get him to listen to reason.

“ When he propounded anything of which he had a deep conviction, he could not bear to be contradicted ; but he often thought afterwards of the objections that had been made, and profited by them.

“ He could not conceive of people always holding to an idea they had once embraced, and making no advance in knowledge. He thought it impossible for a man who is seeking truth not to discover where he is wrong, and what he does not know. He believed that the love of truth required every one to abandon what they had held if anything better presented itself. When this view was objected to on the score of inconstancy, he would answer, that truth ought always to be preferred to a reputation for constancy, and that it was well to be always learning. It was this that necessitated so many alterations in his writings ; he was always correcting them. ‘ It is a habit with me,’ he said, ‘ as soon as ever a book of mine is out of the press, to add not only long *errata*, but fresh explanations. Whenever I can, I correct all that does not appear to me right, and I do not mind contradicting myself over and over again ; for I think that the smallest truth is of greater value than the reputation of doctor.’ When an expression was pointed out to him in any of his writings that might be improved, and a better was suggested, he manifested great pleasure ; and when he happened to find a word or sentence that completely conveyed his ideas, he was as delighted as a child.

“ When he found himself among people who gave ever so little evidence of love to the Saviour, and in whom he could trace any sign of the work of the Spirit, he immediately sought conversation with them, though he never asked what their religion was,

whence they came, or what were their opinions ; and he was the more anxious to form a further acquaintance with them if they were suffering persecution.

“ He possessed a peculiar talent for conversing with people who did not think as he did. He had the happy art of communicating his mind quite freely and frankly, without giving any offence ; though in the earlier part of his life, when he had not much experience, he would sometimes grant too much, and sometimes too little, to those who differed from him, while he had more consideration for some persons than they deserved.

“ He always seemed to enjoy inward peace. He believed that the Saviour would only do what was for his good ; and when he asked Him for anything, he felt assured that his prayer would be answered. He loved to thank God for everything, even for things which other people would have thought too trivial. His greatest desire was to do the will of his Master, and to have a constant sense of what that will was. The incarnation, sufferings, and death of Jesus Christ had captivated his whole heart, and formed the principal subject of his discourses.

“ In common life, when he had no particular reason for being on his guard, he manifested the simplicity of a child. He was a good illustration of the happiness of being delivered, by the blood of the Lamb, from a guilty conscience. All his actions and all his words proved his tender love to the Saviour, and to all His people. He was warm-hearted, gentle, sanguine, open, and at peace with every one. It was a real pleasure to him to help others by his advice, or in any other way ; in short, he was always happy in doing good, and he never made any difference, in this respect, between friends and foes, unless it was that he naturally inclined most toward the latter. This disposition to oblige others, combined with the hope that he would always have the power of doing so, often led him to make promises that he could not possibly fulfil ; and no one could be more grieved than he was when this proved to be the case.

"He had gained from the Scriptures, from history, and from experience, a deep knowledge of, the sinfulness of his own heart, and of the hearts of others. Hence he was often greatly disquieted about his friends to whom he was most attached; and he could not help telling them so, though it cost much pain on both sides. He was not satisfied with putting a stop to what might cause public scandal, but he earnestly endeavoured to prevent everything that was likely to become an occasion of sin, or savoured of evil. His solicitude on this head extended to every member of the community, not excepting the little children, and embraced even the most trivial acts. He selected, as the special objects of his care, the unhappy, the weak-minded, and those who had but little talent—the classes who were most likely to be generally overlooked. When he saw the evidences of love to Christ in any persons of this description, he showed a peculiar esteem and affection for them."

The following is the portrait drawn by Schrautenbach:—

(2.) "Count Zinzendorf was not a faultless man; but all who knew him will acknowledge that he was quick in seizing the truth, and most faithful in serving it. He was uniformly the same in his essential principles, and he always had one object before him. This *unum hominem agere*, which so few men have carried out, was the distinctive feature of his character during the whole of his life.

"Considering his natural activity, his temperament, and the varied powers of his mind, it is not surprising that certain eccentricities and apparent contradictions occasionally made their appearance in the course of his history. Those who observed him closely knew that he was thoroughly upright; he had proved this again and again, not only in the ordinary occurrences of every day, but in critical and trying circumstances; and yet one could hardly read Tacitus without thinking of him. His policy was suspicious, and sometimes had the appearance of dissimula-

tion; and he was too anxious to maintain his authority, even when nobody called it in question. These were defects that resulted partly from his natural disposition, and partly from his education and early intercourse with the world. They were observed by the Brethren, but they did not detract in the least from the unbounded confidence reposed in him, for they only pertained to outward forms and modes of action; real simplicity was the basis of his character.

"Zinzendorf's chief characteristics were his desire for the public good, his benevolence, energy, constancy, disinterestedness, magnanimity, and persistent self-consecration to a truly great object.

"No one was ever more generally loved by all who belonged to him;* no one was ever submitted to a more searching analysis; but he had merit enough to carry him through it in triumph. The points and angles in his character only render it more interesting to study. His creative genius, his power of observation, and the vast range of his eye, gave him novel and striking views of many things. When preaching, he seldom treated his subject from the side that would have appeared to others the most salient, but he generally struck out a course of thought that his hearers did not at all anticipate. It was the same in matters of business; no one could say beforehand in what particular way he would set about anything that was to be done, though every one knew the ultimate object that he unceasingly kept before him.

"It was not to be expected that a man of such depth and force of nature, and placed in such an exceptional situation as Zinzendorf, would always keep within precise bounds. With a field of labour so extensive, that the sun might literally be said never to set upon it, it was impossible for him to be as minute

* This was especially the case towards the end of his career; for during a considerable length of time he might have said, with the apostle Paul, *Though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved*, (2 Cor. xii. 15.)

and methodical as a man who only had a single parish to care for. . . .

"It was by his hymns and his discourses that he exercised the most direct influence upon the mass. He gave very little preparation to his discourses, and he never wrote them. . . .

"His action in speaking was correct and natural, and he had a rich, masculine, harmonious, and expressive voice. His oratory was unstudied, but singularly effective; and he always gave one the impression of a man whose life was harmonious, and full of soul.

"He was a noble, grand-looking person, and as he walked along the streets, people looked at him, and instinctively made way for him.

"His dress was always extremely simple, and even careless. His house was never well furnished, he had few personal wants, and was incorrigibly regardless of his own comfort.

"His countenance was imposing, and capable of great expression. His forehead was high; his eyes of a deep blue colour, bright, piercing, quick in their movements, and somewhat diminished in size by illness; his nose well formed, and slightly arched; his lips closed, though not compressed. He was of middle height, and walked briskly, with a firm step, carrying his head upright. There was a great elegance about him, though there was nothing affected. He was manly in his bearing, and rather reserved. Although he was exceedingly kind in his manners, people were often afraid of him at first; and when they went to speak to him, would forget all they wanted to say.

"Zinzendorf was cheerful, affable, and very conversational. He liked a harmless joke, even if it was aimed at himself; but nobody was ever familiar with him. The intercourse held with him was such as might be held with a superior lord. He was beloved and honoured; but those around him felt that they were in the presence of a man of high rank.

"Speaking of himself, he said, 'I have as strong a tendency to folly as any one;' and the confession does him honour. Such a frank and public acknowledgment of his own weakness was more than might have been expected from a man who was accused of making himself an idol.

"We have spoken of Zinzendorf's usual deportment among the Brethren and Sisters, but we must not omit to mention the undue displeasure he sometimes manifested at what was not quite to his mind. Once, for example, he was very angry about a pew in the church, which had not been placed as he intended it to be. . . . When bad news reached him, especially if any of the members had compromised the true interests of the community, he was so overcome, that if he did not at once retire by himself, his emotion could only be relieved by a torrent of words, which he would pour out on some one individual who happened to be present.

"But he never used any undignified expressions, or such as would leave a sting behind. In his case, these outbursts were probably a physical necessity; at any rate, they were the more excusable on account of his peculiar position; and sometimes he would stop himself under the feeling that he was going too far. 'Do not make me more ridiculous than I am already,' was his answer, on an occasion of this kind, to some one who offered to prompt him with a lacking word.

"The readiness with which he passed from one state of feeling to another was remarkable. Often, when he came into the meetings of the Brethren after a heated conversation on matters of the most anxious nature, the sight of the assembly at once changed the current of his thoughts, and his address would breathe peace and joy.

"He owed most of what he knew to his own habit of study. He read scarcely anything but the Bible, and I believe that in the course of twenty years he only read a single religious book. He wrote much, and spent a great deal of time in meditation.

“His works contain many hazardous phrases, and they have been justly characterised as wanting in exactitude. This is especially the case with those discourses which were published from the notes of his hearers. They are not all of equal value, and there are some which it would have been better not to publish at all. But many of them are rich in theological and practical truth. It was not his habit to dwell very long on one branch of a subject, and hence his writings are by no means exhaustive. But there are few speakers who, with so little preparation, have infused so much thought into their public addresses, or who have presented one unvarying topic in such a variety of views.

“One of the finest traits of his character was his unshaken faith in *what is written*. He was quite familiar with all the sceptical objections that could be raised against the Bible, and he did not think much of the arguments generally used to meet them. He had read Bayle and many authors of that class, when a young man. ‘My friends,’ he said, ‘have often blamed me for taking any pleasure in the writings of men who could scoff at religion and attack the faith. But I did not think of that when I was reading them. . . . I feel grateful to certain writers, whom theologians of every shade have condemned, and I have often thought I would rather be considered a Bayle than a Jurieu.’

“He did not assert the impossibility of historical or chronological errors in Scripture, and he did not teach the literal inspiration of the Sacred Volume. But the whole of his theological system was built upon the Bible as the Book of God, and the revelation containing all the divine counsel in reference to human salvation.”

This latter remark of Schrautenbach is confirmed by the following proposition submitted by Zinzendorf to the Synods of the United Brethren, and which was approved :—

“Holy Scripture is the oracle that constitutes the final court

of appeal. The Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testaments are absolutely divine works. He who desires to be saved, and even he who has to bear testimony, will find that they contain sufficiently and perfectly all doctrines, all theses, all prophecies, and everything that goes to make up the system of theology. Hence nothing more is needed till the coming of Christ, and it is neither right nor possible to change or to add to anything the Bible says."

NOTE 3. ZINZENDORF'S LETTER TO THE COPTIC PATRIARCH.

See p. 278.

"The following may be taken as a summary of our creed :—

"Jesus Christ, true God, the issue of God, the Father of eternity, and the Creator of the universe, was made man by the good pleasure of His heavenly Father, and by the action of the Holy Spirit. He was born without original sin, of the Virgin Mary, and of the race of David. He lived on earth, He died to atone for my sins, and for those of the whole world. That God, my Creator, rose from the dead and ascended to heaven, is what I could easily have supposed, even if the Scriptures had not mentioned it. It is an undeniable fact. He is the one *Patriarch* of His spiritual family here below ; all teachers, all witnesses, whatever may be their degree in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, are His *disciples*, and this name never can mean *Master*. Men of changeful mind, foolish men, or those who are too much given to abstraction, and whose hearts feel nothing, may invent a hundred sorts of systems, and may impose them on one another ; serious souls, who are open to the impressions of the truth, and are faithful to it, thank God for being made man, and for saving them the necessity of diving into depths which, in their misery,

are far beyond them. They live in Him, for He is the way, the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by Him. He that hath the Son hath the Father also, and the Holy Spirit takes from Him what He teaches us.* He was the first to tell us that the Divine Being is a Father, to whom we may say, *Abba* ! and to promise that God would manifest Himself to us in that character. It was He who spoke of a Holy Spirit, who covered Mary with His shadow, and formed in her the humanity of Christ. He committed His Church to the Holy Spirit, who is to abide with her for ever. All true churches take a filial attitude in the presence of the Holy Spirit, lifting their eyes to His hands,† and trusting to His gracious care. . . .

“Our chief business is with Christ, His person, at once human and divine, *God-man*, one only Christ; His martyrdom is the sight of sights to our souls. He is God in His eternal dwelling; but He is still the same man that He was. And this Jesus will come again in the like manner as He was seen going into heaven.‡

“We seek to direct the eyes of all sinners to Him, and to prepare them for the blessed sight of His person. And for this work the whole world is open to us, for the earth is His, and He was baptized with the baptism of fire and blood, which, by the grace of God, sanctifies and makes perfect all who come to God by Him. The testament left us by Jesus, in His last discourses, and in His prayers on the way to His Passion, (John xiii.—xvii.,) constitutes all our ecclesiastical system; and forbids our judging any of the Christian communions. But it is one thing not to judge, and another thing to accept. We leave the various Christian sects with the Lord, and we endeavour to guard against exciting in any of them divisions, differences, and fighting about words. But we cannot allow ourselves to be shut up within any sect in the world. The dying wishes of Jesus Christ, expressed to His Father on behalf of those who believe in Him, expressly

* John xvi. 15. *He shall take of mine and shall show it unto you.*

† In allusion to Psalm cxxvi.

‡ Acts i. 11.

prohibit us from being so. (John xvii. 21.) We only want to bring home to the hearts of men, in a practical way, those truths which are incontrovertible, and our great aim is to realise the sacerdotal prayer of Jesus, '*That they all may be one!*'

"We baptize pagans in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, into the death of Jesus. And we receive into our church all those among them who believe. But we do not oblige all Christians to whom we are made useful to enter our church; we only seek to sprinkle all the churches, whatever they may be, with the blood of Jesus, to spread among Christians the leaven of His death, so that this leaven may gradually sanctify the churches to which they belong, and preserve them from the sleep of death and corruption, till the Chief Shepherd shall appear, and shall unite all in one flock.

"There is no mother-church on the earth, but all the churches are sisters;* there is no earthly father, but we are all brethren; there is no universal Patriarch of the true Christian Church, for all its members are disciples.

"We do not wish to establish new forms of worship, to change the hierarchy, to correct the terms used in religious discourse, or to abolish abuses; we do not aim to introduce our theology, so far as its modes of expression are concerned; we rather seek to apply the words of truth, already known and admitted in our churches, to the hearts of men; we want to bring them by that means to a personal acquaintance with the faithful Witness who has loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and stands at the door of every heart and knocks for admission. We are deputed by His heart to all your hearts, O Christians, to remind you in love that you should be faithful,—not in the things of which you make no profession, or in those that you differ about, but in those on which you are, at least in words,

* Zinzendorf says in another of his writings:—"I do not believe in one great visible church, but in a number of little chapels consecrated to the Holy Spirit."

agreed,—in what you have admitted, and always admit, to be true. And, finally, wherever a Christian church asks our assistance, we are always ready to be, not its superiors, but its servants ; for to *SERVE* is our motto. By doing this, however, we do not mean to say that such a church is perfect, that it is the only good church, the only true one, the orthodox one ; but we labour wherever we can and ought to do so, that those who teach and those who are taught may experience the truth of the words that form the supreme consolation of every reconciled heart : *My Beloved is mine, and I am His.**

“If we succeed in that, and succeed in it by preaching His death and the merits of His blood, which no baptized Christian’s heart can seriously resist,—that is enough for us, that is all we could wish.”

NOTE 4. DISCOURSES IN BERLIN. *See p. 188.*

The discourses delivered by Zinzendorf in Berlin, or rather the outlines of them supplied by Langguth’s notes, were translated into French soon after their appearance, and printed in London in 1744.

These sermons are divided into three series, the first containing twelve on the Lord’s Prayer ; the second including sixteen on the second part of the Creed, (that which treats of Jesus Christ) ; the third embracing twenty-six on different subjects. The original volume is respectfully dedicated to the Queen of Prussia.

“Your Majesty,” the author says, “is the glory of a great monarch, and of an important officer in the kingdom of God. You are a precious mother to the Prince, and to all the royal family. You are beloved by the subjects of your royal husband,

* Song of Solomon ii. 16.

and these are so many great glories in one. I have also had occasion to notice that your Majesty is not far from becoming a poor sinner. This is a very rare grace, where so many virtues exist.

“If your Majesty possesses this glory in addition to the others, your happiness is perfect, and your glory is well founded.”

In the preface, Zinzendorf explains his reasons for revising these extracts of his sermons, and authorising the publication.

Subjoined is an extract from a discourse preached in London in 1746, which evidently contains the pith of the whole of the series on the Lord's Prayer. The preface to the volume from which this is extracted would indicate that the translation into English was prepared under his own eye; and it states the interesting fact that not a few Englishmen went to the trouble of learning German, in order to listen to these discourses.

The volume is entitled:—“*Nine Public Discourses upon important subjects on Religion, preached in Fetter Lane Chapel, at London, in the year 1746. Translated from the German.*” London: James Hutton. 1748.

“Concerning the simple meaning and great idea of the Lord's Prayer.

“Dear hearts! to join together in one form and liturgy, to say the same words with two different hearts, to join in professing that which we have no inward conviction of, and to hear various truths to which we are not yet attained, are two widely different things.

“It is usual many times to speak of truths, because we know they of themselves have a tendency to awaken a longing, a thirst, and a desire in the soul to be partakers of them and their blessedness; and, therefore, when our Saviour spoke of matters which properly concerned His disciples only, He very often admitted all men to hear them.

“I have no occasion to use many arguments to prove this, I

only need to point you to the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of Matthew ; that is a sermon which, according to all men's ideas, is, from the first to last, full of paradoxes. There are things therein so impracticable in a well-regulated commonwealth, that even the true children of God, as matters may be circumstantiated, cannot order themselves according to them. I will only produce that maxim, 'Ye shall not resist any imposition.' Were this to be generally received and introduced into civil life, the consequence we must necessarily expect from it would be a total subversion of the human race ; there would be an end of all order in the world—of all government, nor could any man be secure in the possession of his own property. This is the reason why well-disposed minds, who have not their thoughts in the best order, especially, if besides they have no entire heart, and yet will be meddling with our Saviour's matters, have run into such extremes, as even to reject all kinds of defence of a country, all judicial proceedings, and other constitutions of government. They allege the fifth and sixth chapters of Matthew ; but they do not understand them.

"Certain it is, and our Saviour himself would not deny it, that His sermon did not refer to all those who were then present ; for to obviate such a thought, He makes use of that wise caution, 'For whom it is good to hear this, let him hear it.' In like manner, when on a time a general rule dropt in among some special ones, he says, '*What I say unto you here, I say unto all, Watch.*' By which He evinces, at the same time, that the foregoing matters were not spoken to all ; but to watch, to give attention to the mind, to the thoughts, and to the work of the Spirit in the heart, this He recommended to all.

"But what, then, is a paradox in doctrine ? A paradox must not be confounded with an error, for it may be a dear truth of God ; but it is either no economical truth which suits for the present period, or else a truth which is not for everybody, belongs only to certain subjects, and is only for such persons as have ex-

perienced the reality of it, and who practise it because they have it in their hearts.

“Therefore a deep wisdom of God lies in the course of the doctrine, in that truths seem a paradox to people as long as they are not for their hearts, that they seem strange to them, and they do not know what to make of them : for when they do attend to them notwithstanding, the effect is, either they awaken a shame in their hearts that they do not understand them as yet, or else a desire and longing that they also may understand them. And this is the reason why our Saviour, under the name of the Lord’s Prayer, repeated the known marrow and kernel of all prayer to His disciples in the presence of all the people. ‘*After this manner shall ye pray,*’ says He. This is the reason why it is so beautiful and edifying for people who are called unto the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that they early and beforehand learn to understand and comprehend the Lord’s Prayer, and what an important and blessed plan, what a system of divinity is couched in it.

“Now, if we would go to work with the explication of it in a natural and simple manner, we must not look upon this form of prayer as it might be applied profitably to the circumstances of our own times, but according to what our Saviour meant and intended to show His disciples at that time thereby, and what He would recommend to them as the subject-matter of their prayers ; for then, as I said already, the whole body of divinity of that period (which may be called the Fulness of Time) will be found to be contained in it.

“It referred to the Economy or Dispensation of the just approaching New Testament ; and if we explain it in this view, following the nearest literal sense, we shall find it harmonising with all the other parts of our Saviour’s doctrine.

“When ye pray, My disciples ; My people that I have sought for Myself out of the world, My people which serve Me, and shall see My glory, that shall know My sufferings and shall bear My

faith amongst mankind, *when ye pray, say, Our Father which art above in heaven!* For it is well known that there were at that time many fathers; many persons were called fathers; people of high rank and station were called gods in a political sense; so, many who were in esteem and consideration at that time, were denominated fathers in a theological one. This prevailed to that degree that our Saviour found himself under the necessity of forbidding His disciples to call anybody father, making it a characteristic of the New Testament economy that no man should be called father, because the souls in that dispensation had got a new Father, with whom the world was utterly unacquainted. So, then, Thou art our Father who art above in heaven; 'tis to Thee we speak; we are Thine; Thy children have somewhat to tell Thee; their heart has a matter to lay before Thee, which they would fain have done for them at this time.

"The first thing they are concerned for is, *May Thy name be hallowed.*

"I don't know whether this expression be understood in its natural and simple sense. Dr Luther has explained it admirably well:—'What is that? The name of God is doubtless holy in itself; but what we ask in this prayer is, that it may be hallowed through us too.'

"This is the very meaning of it. Things must come to that, that Thou shalt obtain a divine worship in the world, that divine honour be paid to the Father in heaven, that He be acknowledged to be the Church's God, that liturgy be directed to Him also, that it may not only be said, Jehovah Elohim, but also, God, Thou Father Jehovah! For this had not been done hitherto. No man had as yet worshipped and adored God the Father; either there was nothing at all, or at least nothing but obscure expressions occurring about Him in all the Bible. Hence our Saviour explains Himself, that the Bible treats properly of Him Himself; and Peter says, that by all the prophets have spoken, the Holy Ghost pointed at the sufferings of Jesus and the glorious things

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which were to follow upon them. This is the plan of the whole Bible : the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—the God who led the people of Israel out of Egypt, the God of all flesh, the God of all gods, that God by whom alone one was to swear, who made us and is our husband ; all these were our Saviour who, one time when in human form, told His enemies, ‘ You are wondering that I am so old, *I was* before Abraham was thought of ; if Abraham had had an opportunity of seeing me in this manner, he would have been ravished out of the body for joy ; and when I once appeared to him only *incognito*, that day remained such a day of blessing to him that he could never let it go out of his memory any more.’ And in another place he says, ‘ When the great kings and prophets had a mind to enjoy something extraordinary, then they represented to themselves one such day as you always have. In the meanwhile their business was to converse with God, to have a feeling of Him, to be near to His Spirit when some such thing came upon them, when at any time they felt anything of this nature in spirit, which you have every day bodily (but which they could not have, because I was not yet in this tabernacle, nor as yet clothed with a human body, and so could be seen by no man,) how glad were they ! This is your superior privilege, that you have me present with you.’

“ In a word, the whole economy to this time was purely the economy of our Saviour, the Creator, who yet further intended to redeem the world, and had preserved and shut up His creature out of grace and love till His appearing, that all might not run to ruin ; who contrived the law and the whole dispensation of the Old Testament as well as the covenant-time of the patriarchs, as the theocracy of the people of Israel, to this end, that some however of His creatures might be saved and kept from wrath, till His appearing in the flesh. But now a new period began and a new worship ; now His little pre-elected flock, His chosen household, were also to worship God the original Being, who was, as yet, hid ; the Father of *Jesus Christ*, who, as our Saviour says,

is in secret. For this is the phrase He uses more than once in His Sermon upon the Mount, Ο πατηρ μου ὁ ἐν χεσπυτω, *My Father who is in secret*, who dwells in obscurity, or at least in light which no man can approach unto, of whom nobody knows anything at all; He shall now begin to obtain divine worship, a religion in the world. This, then, is the first petition, '*Hallowed be thy name.*' Dear Father! oh that the time might once come that Thou shouldst be preached, and that there might be a people to whom Thou couldst be made known, who all could worship Thee; that if not every knee in heaven and upon earth, and under the earth, yet at least the elect people of thy Son might, at the command of their Lord, cast themselves down before Thee and worship Thee. We sing, on this account,

‘God on whom the Church does call,
For the sake of Jesus,’ &c.

“The second petition is the means to attain to the first—‘*Thy kingdom come!*’ Oh, that at least Thy economy did already take place. This has a reference to what our Saviour says,—Dear people, you must get new ideas of things, and I will help you to them; I will propound matters to you which shall correct and make additions to your whole former system of divinity; things you have never heard of before, but you must first of all have become other men. A new economy will commence,—that of my Father. But wherein consists the economy which commenced at that time, and has been subsisting ever since to this day? Therein that He makes a marriage for His Son, as man, who laid down His life for the misery and corruption of His creature; and that He not only carries on a work which has peculiar reference to the Son, in the kingdom of nature, but enters too, in an especial manner, into the affairs of grace, begetting men according to His own will through the word of truth, whom the man Christ Jesus obtains prerogatively, His property, His Παιδείας, His own particularly-appropriated people; and as John in particular

expresses it so often, His bride-people, His souls predestinated to His eternal marriage.

“This is that dispensation which has now been subsisting these seventeen hundred years, concerning which our Saviour says : ‘This is the Father’s business, to make you believe on the Son of man.’ And nobody can, in the ordinary way, become acquainted with the humanity of Jesus, to whom the Father hath not first of all began the demonstration. He draws all souls to me : now, whomsoever my Father does present unto me, he comes to me gladly, and whosoever comes, him will I receive and promise him by my honour and faithfulness that on my day I will present and set him before my Father, again and openly confess him. This is the meaning of ‘*Thy kingdom come.*’ Oh that the time might soon come on when it pleases God to reveal and manifest His Son as man, as Reconciler, and as the Offering for sin : all which is couched together in that word, *His message*, during which the Father works upon the souls, and carries on the great business of drawing all elect souls to their Creator as man ; not excluding such as our Saviour gets, besides such as He fetches His own self : as He says, ‘*When I be lifted up upon the cross*’ I will not be satisfied that I have a little elected flock, that I have a bride ; no, but *I will draw all souls* without distinction after me ; for all souls are mine.

“This is that mystery, which is a key for the heart in the weighty matter of predestination. This is the reason of Dr Luther’s saying, ‘Adam must truly be dead first, before we speak of election, and then the new man must speak of it.’

“It is a thing undoubted that there is a predestination in the economy of the Father, who draws the souls to the Son, who has sought out souls before the foundation of the world was laid, that they might be holy and unreprouable in the eyes of Him who acts towards them as His Son’s espoused ones, in love and condescension. This is an eternal truth, corroborated with many hundred arguments in the New Testament ; and many instances

prove that there are souls who *must* be saved, because their Father has drawn them, and their election is not owing to themselves. But, on the other hand, the Son, as the Sovereign Lord of all souls, has still power to save whomsoever He will. He is not tied to the election ; neither are we to suppose that no more men will be saved than the first-born, or, as they are frequently called in the Revelation of John, the *first-fruits*. He ever liveth, and is able to save to the uttermost, (or evermore,) and the souls He does save, do not so much by the Father come to Him as by Him unto God : He bears them home upon His shoulders.

“This affords but a confused idea to such as have no heart. Sometimes it is said in the Bible that the Father draws the souls to the Son—‘*No man can come to me except the Father draw him.*’ And again, at another time that the Son brings them to the Father—‘*No man cometh to the Father but by me.*’

“Nobody that hath not a heart can tell what to make of this ; but he that has the divine economy that rules the world in his heart, and has a share in it, he understands this. There are not two sorts of men, two sorts of souls, we are all brethren and sisters ; therefore we may look upon all the sinners in a whole city, and in half a world of men, as such, nor is there a single soul whom we may not behold with brotherly eyes. For although their signature, and their whole air and behaviour do presently discover that they are not the people whom the Father hath given to His Son as the first-fruits, yet of this we are so certainly persuaded, that we could stake our lives thereupon, that no human creature walks the streets, that no human creature is existing, let it live as it will, in whoredom, drunkenness, and all manner of sins, who may not, through the sovereign power of Jesus Christ, the Creator of the world, be delivered from its sins, snatched and plucked out of its misery ; be fetched round again, and freed from the tyranny of Satan ; and as soon as a panting, a longing in deep distress at themselves has sprung up in them, be laid hold on and carried home upon the arms of the God and Creator

of the universe ; so that our Saviour, forgetting, as it were, for a moment all His first-born,—His dear hearts, His bride, the sheep of His hand, whom He has made, and not they themselves, and leaving them on His pasture,—is taken up with that one poor man, with that single sinner there, and with that harlot, who had seven devils, and carries them home upon His shoulders, requiring of all His dear hearts to rejoice with Him at this soul who does not belong to the election of grace, but which He has saved, nevertheless, by His sovereign power and authority ; because it wanted to be saved, because it was in fear about itself, because its sins went over its head, and were like a sore burden, too heavy for it to bear.

“ This is the foundation upon which we love our enemies, upon which we bless them that curse us, and pray for them that despitefully use us and persecute us ; for it may avail. This, indeed, is not possible, that a heart beforehand elected can curse our Saviour ; that it can persecute any one for His sake, and that it can be an enemy to our Saviour designedly ; it is contrary to its nature. But no sooner has a downright enemy of God, a servant of Satan, a spoil of hell and death, and not only a spoil and a captive, but a hitherto volunteer of sin and death ; I say, no sooner has such a one a mind to be saved, but he can be saved, can become a brother ; nay, it may go so far, that all the elect of our Saviour blush, and are covered with shame at his happiness.

“ Sure enough, the life of the malefactor on the cross was not the life of an elect person ; for the Father does not expose the election of His grace at such a rate as to suffer the Περαισιμίας of His Son to spend its life in murder and robbery. But thus our Saviour overcomes ; so He gains His cause ; so He shows His Creator-power in that He can say to every brat of the devil, without ceremony, or order, or system, ‘ You had rather, however, be mine. You had rather come with me.’ ‘ Oh yes, Lord ! think only on me, forget me not, and when Thou hast done meditating upon all Thy blessedness and glory, then let the poor robber come

into Thy thoughts.' 'Amen!' said our Saviour. 'Now this very day come with me. I will take thee with me, then I shall have no occasion to remind myself of thee. I will take thee with me this moment.'

"Observe this is the meaning of '*Thy kingdom come.*' Father, let things be brought so far in the world, that a church be seen, that a people be seen, which acts in Thy name, and appeals to the marriage supper of the Father of Jesus Christ, which He makes for His Son, the King who has sent out to procure marriage-guests for His Son, and who has commanded it to be published indiscriminately to all the world—'*Come, for all things are ready.*'

"The third petition is, *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.*

"This is a profound saying of our Saviour's, and implies that people had hitherto had but little conception of the Father's will upon earth. The Son, indeed, had done all things according to the Father's will, for He and the Father are one; and He always rejoiced at that which the Son did; yea, the Son would *do nothing but what He had seen the Father do.* But the Father's government had not been immediate, He had not meddled with it, so that men knew—that is the Father's will, the Father will have it so; which phrase our Saviour had in His mouth every now and then,—'This is the will of Him that sent me,' &c. 'This is the will of the Father,' &c. So that the meaning here is as it were so: In heaven we knew it very well; there it was our life; there it was my meat and drink to do what pleased my Father. To play, O Father! before Thee, and to do according to Thy heart. Thou Thyself hast given me the testimony that Thou hast had pleasure in me. Likewise the angels who see Thy face have stood before Thee, ready to execute in the regions of heaven what was Thy will. But oh, dear Father, if it was but so in the world, too; if there were but people there also, whose joy and pleasure it was to do the will of the Father of

Jesus Christ, to be ready in all things at the Father's beck, to go to Him and to say, Behold, Father! that is Thy Son's affair, help us therein; Thou canst give us power, wisdom, and success therein; it affects Thy Son's interest. Oh that the whole world was here and there full of people, full of heroes, who would have to do with nothing else, but to carry on this loving will of the Father's through all opposition."

NOTE 5.

The Rev. Henry Shawe, of the Moravian Society, 97 Hatton Garden, has most kindly furnished the translator with the following list of the numbers of those hymns in the English Hymn-book used by the United Brethren, which are translations from the German of Zinzendorf.

68	329	471, 1	583	720
80	330	485	589	723
122	339	492	594	766
175	357	497	595	787
190	358	502	602	788
206	364	503	609	803
207	369, 1	512	611, 1	807
217	385	513	616	808
256	400	519	616, 1	810
257	405	522	660	811
268	409	523	674	813
270	412, 2, 3	524	692	814
272	414, 4	555	713	815
300	436, 2	561	714	818
306	450	563	716	819
225	454	567, 1	717	822
326	468	579	719	828

829	879	914	982	1069
834	881	920	984	1070
847	884	929	986	1149
849	885	954	990	1188
854	887	961	1002	1190
859	893	965	1004	1213
864	895	971	1015	1220
869	909	978	1033	1234
876	913	979		

It need hardly be remarked that the poetic character of the original compositions is but little represented in any of these translations. The difficulty of transferring the *poetry* of hymns from one language to another, especially when the translator has to keep the requirements of metre constantly in view, amounts to something like an impossibility. A German hymn, to be really enjoyed, should be read in the German language.

NOTE 6. ZINZENDORF ON THE ATONEMENT.

Extract from *Twenty-one Discourses or Dissertations on the Augsburg Confession, delivered by the Ordinary of the Brethren's Churches before the Seminary, 1753.*

"He hath suffered, He was dead. We may easily think that God, as God, is incapable of being slain or killed; that God, being Spirit, did neither bleed nor cry; but yet neither can we say, that *God did not*; this we can as little say, as that *God did*. I repeat it, we cannot positively say that this happened to the Godhead; but neither can we say that His divinity had no share in it. In order to lay a bottom for the preponderancy and the merit, certain it is, that the Godhead was everywhere present; God atoned

for us, God sanctified us, God purchased us regeneration by the birth from God. Yes! there we have the hypostatic union again. For this no man can effect; this no Brother can do; he must let it alone for ever. *God* redeemed us, *God* bought His Church, *God* took the most intimate share therein; the divinity of Jesus Christ interested itself in such a manner in His birth, life, sufferings, death, and resurrection, that there is nothing in nature which we could conceive so near; so that no distance of half a hair's-breadth must be imagined between the actions and occurrences of the manhood of Jesus Christ and the Godhead's participation. But yet, for all that, the Saviour had no more sensible or instantaneous support from it than He should and *would* have at that time. For all this was out of His own previous good pleasure, out of His own deep wisdom, out of His own proper invention and predestination, concealed from and become a mystery to Him. He believed in good earnest that His Godhead had forsaken Him; had He not believed it, He would not have said it, and lamented it moreover. Now, then, why did all this happen? Answer: 'That He might be a clean *offering* as well for *original* sin as for each *actual* offence, and *pacify* God's intense wrath.'

"My brethren, there is a great difference between *original sin* and *actual sin*; one springs out of the other, but yet they are not the same. Our Saviour suffered so bitterly for original sin, He so really died for it, and nailed it in such a manner to the cross's tree, that no human soul dies of that any more, nor perishes upon account of there being such a thing as original sin. Original sin could not be *forgiven* merely, but it was also necessary it should be *atoned for*; but actual sin is now no more atoned for, but forgiven; from this grace and release may be had in the sacrifice of Jesus."

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